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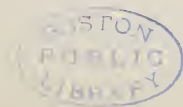
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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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JANUARY 1950

An Armenian Gospel of the Fifteenth Century

By SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN

A RICHLY illustrated Armenian Gospel, which has been in the collection of manuscripts of the Boston Public Library since 1926 (Ms. no. 1327), deserves special attention as a representative example of the art of the XVth century.

The history of the manuscript can be traced through the long colophon, written as usual by the scribe (fol. 311-316), and through other notes added at various times. We learn from these that the writing and illustration of the Gospel were completed in the year 924 of the Armenian era, that is in 1475 A.D., "in the canton of Tarberuni, now called Berkri, in the holy monastery of Ter Huskan-ordi (son of Ter Husik), under the protection of the Holy Theotokos and the Holy Resurrection and Saint Karapet and the miracle-working, red Holy Cross and the tomb of the saintly *vardapet* (priest) Ter Huskan-ordi, when the abbots of the monastery were the archbishop Ter Hohannes and the *vardapet* Mkrtitch owner of this holy Gospel." The scribe, and probably the illuminator for no other name is given, was Grigor of Berkri and the manuscript was written for his brother, the abbot Mkrtitch, and offered to the church of the monastery as a memorial for their parents At'abek and Shahdjehan and other relatives. The scribe humbly begs forgiveness for the largeness of the script and any mistakes he may have made; he asks for prayers for the archbishop Isahak and

his parents who helped in the illumination of the Gospel, for Evatshe and his wife who provided some of the funds for the copy of the manuscript, for his spiritual father and teacher, the learned doctor Mkrtitch, and he makes the following reference to contemporary events: "In this year the King at Tabriz is Hasan beg, he has come from Mesopotamia and rules over this eastern section, and we are in many difficulties. Will Christ, our God, visit us? Glory to Him forever. Amen."

The monastery of Huskan-ordi, at Berkri, where this manuscript was copied, is situated off the north-eastern shore of Lake Van, in Armenia, at a short distance east of the city of Ardjesh. It was founded in the late XIIIth century in honor of a monk of the neighboring monastery of Argelan, Step'annos, son of Ter Husik (Huskan-ordi), whose saintly life is told in the Armenian Menologium on January 3rd.¹ This monastery soon became one of the important centers of this region and a number of manuscripts written by various members of the community have survived.² In the early XVth century the abbot was called Mkrtitch and he is to be identified with the spiritual father and teacher of our scribe Grigor, for in a Ritual written in 1432 A.D. the abbot Mkrtitch mentions among his assistants the two brothers Grigor and Mkrtitch.³ In 1439 Grigor, no longer an assistant, copied a Gospel in which he again mentions his spiritual father and teacher Mkrtitch, adding that the latter was the abbot of the monastery of Huskan-ordi and died that same year.⁴ The name of the immediate successor has not been preserved, but in 1473 the second Mkrtitch, the brother of the scribe Grigor and the owner of the present manuscript, was already the abbot of this monastery of Huskan-ordi and he retained his office at least till 1498 when we find his name in a Hymnal.⁵ As for the scribe Grigor, in addition to the manuscripts already mentioned, he copied a Hymnal in 1478, always working in the same monastery at the side of his brother, the abbot Mkrtitch.⁶

The present manuscript probably remained in the church to which it had been offered for about two hundred years, but in 1663 it had fallen into alien hands and a certain Gharip, a native of the village of K'rt'agom, near Mush, west of Lake Van, "freed it from captivity" by paying one hundred piasters, and he returned it to the monastery of Huskan-ordi after having it

rebound by Ter Hohanes, a native of Baghesh (Bitlis).⁷ Two other colophons, which unfortunately are not dated, also refer to the theft of the manuscript. A priest Margaré, from the monastery of the Twelve Apostles at Mush, having come to the monastery of Argelan, at Berkri, discovers that the Gospel has fallen "a captive" into the hands of the Muslims and, with the help of the people, he frees it from the hands of the unlawful.⁸ The pupil of this priest, also called Margaré, repeats this information, giving further details; according to him, the manuscript had been carried to the village of K'rt'agom and his teacher freed it "with great efforts, labor and force" and took it back to the monastery of Huskan-ordi.⁹

All these colophons probably refer to the same occurrence told separately by the different persons who had a share in returning the Gospel to the monastery of Huskan-ordi. It seems however that the manuscript was once again taken to the village of K'rt'agom, near Mush, for several lines of the colophon of the second Margaré have been partly scratched off and a certain bishop Aristakes has written above these lines that he took the Gospel from this village to the monastery of the Forerunner at Mush.¹⁰

We do not know how long our Gospel remained at Mush, but in 1869 it was at Erzerum, in the northern part of Armenia, where it was seen by Ghevond *vardapet* P'irghalemian who added a note to this effect in the manuscript.¹¹ In the late XIXth century it was acquired by Professor Maxwell Somerville of Philadelphia and, after passing to other owners after his death, it was purchased in 1926 by the Boston Public Library from the Francis Skinner Fund.¹²

THE illustration of the manuscript¹³ begins with twenty-three full-page miniatures, followed by the Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus explaining the concordance of the four Gospels, and the Canon or concordance tables written inside decorative frames.¹⁴ The portraits of the Evangelists face the opening pages of their Gospels, but only the portrait of Matthew (fol. 36v) belongs to the original manuscript; the other three (fol. 115v, 166v, 247v), painted on paper in a much cruder style, are

of a later date. It is probable that the portraits painted by the scribe Grigor had been lost and the new ones were added in 1663 when the manuscript was rebound.

An ornate headpiece is painted at the beginning of each Gospel and a large ornament of interlacing palmettes fills the outer margin. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist — angel, lion, ox, and eagle; the first line is written in zoöomorphic letters, the second and third lines are in gold or red capitals. As it is customary in Armenian Gospels, the daily readings begin with a floral, zoöomorphic or occasionally an anthropomorphic initial, and they are accompanied by marginal ornaments consisting of floral interlaces, birds or sirens. Small crosses, usually drawn above the ornament, mark the readings of the Passion week; ciborium-like constructions are painted whenever there is a reference to the temple in the opening sentence; and in a number of instances single figures or small compositions illustrating the text of the Gospel replace the ornamental designs. There are 47 such miniatures, distributed as follows: 15 in the Gospel of Matthew, 10 in the Gospel of Mark, 12 in the Gospel of Luke, and 10 in the Gospel of John.

The full-page miniatures placed at the beginning of the Gospel form a kind of multiple frontispiece illustrating the life of Christ by means of the principal episodes, many of which are at the same time the important feasts of the Christian church. Three Old Testament subjects have been added to the Gospel cycle: the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Tree of Jesse, and the Vision of Ezekiel. The first of these, the symbol of the sacrifice of Christ, had already been represented in the Armenian Gospel manuscripts of the Xth and XIth centuries¹⁵; it was omitted in the following period, when the miniatures were usually introduced into the body of the manuscript to accompany the appropriate passages in the Gospel, and it reappeared in the XIVth century when the painters resumed the earlier custom of grouping the full-page miniatures at the beginning of the Gospel. At approximately the same time the composition of the Tree of Jesse passed from the art of western Europe to Armenian art,¹⁶ and perhaps shortly later the Vision of Ezekiel, which had been represented earlier in Armenian Bibles, was added to the initial group of miniatures in the Gospel manuscripts.



Fig. 1. Vision of Ezekiel



Fig. 2. Presentation to the Temple

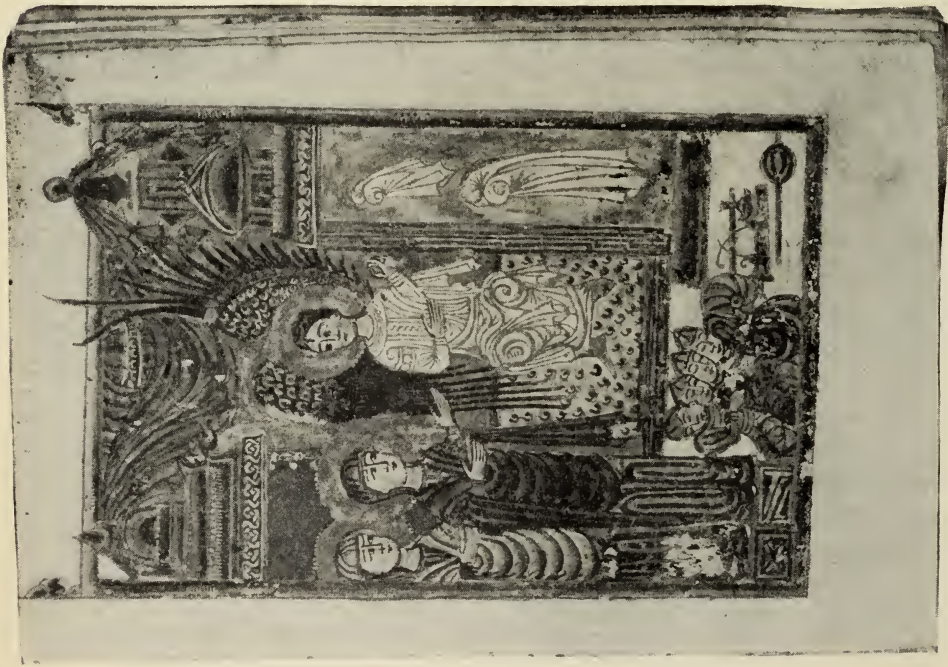


Fig. 3. Holy Women at the Sepulchre

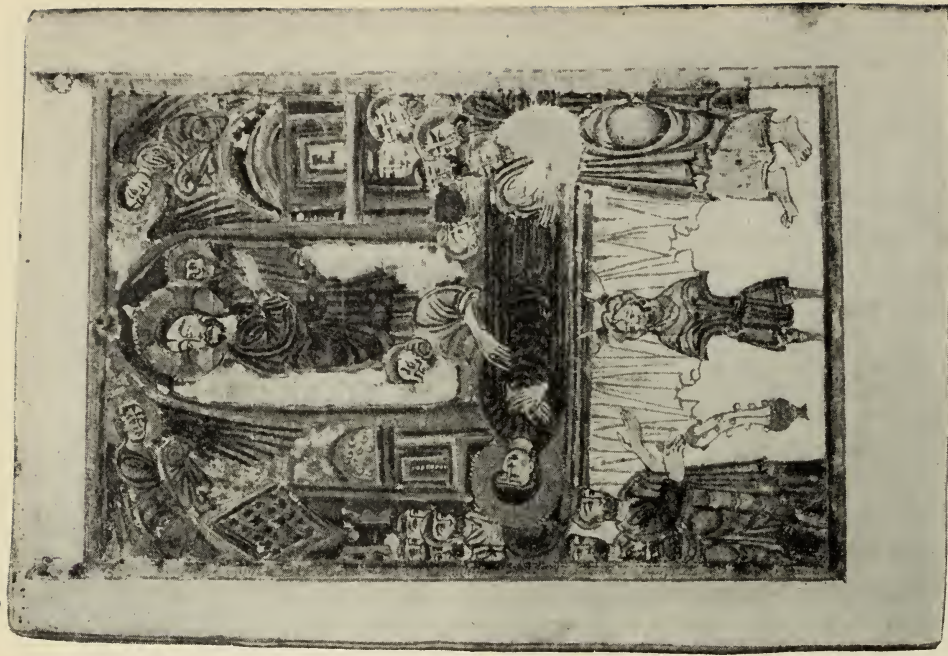


Fig. 4. Dormition of the Virgin

These three scenes from the Old Testament conform to the iconographic types current in the XVth century. In the Sacrifice of Isaac (fol. 5v), Abraham, holding a large knife, stands behind Isaac, who is kneeling on a stone in front of the altar, and turns his head to look at the ram hanging from a tree; the angel, flying down from heaven, almost touches Abraham. The painter has taken special care to represent the fire altar with large flames leaping up almost to the upper frame of the miniature.

The composition of the Tree of Jesse (fol. 6) follows the conventional pattern already established at the beginning of the XVth century: Jesse is reclining on the ground, three men and three women stand at the sides of a stylized tree with two small branches at the top framing the image of the Virgin and Child; the other ancestors, seen in bust, are drawn inside small, pointed oval frames.¹⁷ In the Vision of Ezekiel (fol. 7v, fig. 1), Christ Emmanuel, beardless, is enthroned inside the innermost of three concentric circles; four tetramorphs stand diagonally, like the spokes of a wheel, inside the outer circles, their bodies awkwardly cut by the second circle. A human hand comes out from under the third circle and presents the scroll to Ezekiel kneeling by the river Chebar; the words "the vision of Ezekiel that he saw at the river Chebar" are written in gold letters on the scroll. A closed book hangs from the reeds growing on the bank of the river.¹⁸

The New Testament scenes also follow, for the most part, the traditional iconographic types; in the Annunciation the Virgin is seated before an elaborate architectural setting (fol. 8); the Nativity is combined with the Adoration of the Magi and of the Shepherds, a prominent place being given to the young shepherd playing the flute (fol. 9v); in the Presentation, the Virgin and Joseph, with the doves, Simeon, holding the infant Jesus, and the prophetess Anna stand at the sides of an altar placed under a large ciborium (fol. 10, fig. 2); Christ is entirely nude in the Baptism scene; the narrow strip of water, in which large fish are swimming, rises to the upper frame of the miniature so that the dove, descending from heaven, seems to be in the river Jordan (fol. 11v); in the Transfiguration Christ, standing between Elijah and Moses, wears a white garment with gold lines to indicate the folds; the three apostles are seated or

prostrate in the foreground (fol. 12). In the Raising of Lazarus the heads of three Jews appear above the sepulchre, and the extended hand of one of the men comes out from under the architrave, a common feature at this period (fol. 13v). The Entry into Jerusalem is partly effaced, for most of the colors have flaked off, but one can still distinguish the figures of Christ and of the Apostles, two elderly men standing inside the city gate, and the children cutting the branches of a tree or spreading their garments under the ass's feet (fol. 14). In the Washing of the Feet Peter is seated, as usual, on a high stool and the other apostles are grouped behind him (fol. 15v); the Arrest of Christ is combined with the Mocking; the apostles are omitted, as is customary in this period, and behind the soldiers who surround Jesus may be seen two young men, one with a trumpet, the other with cymbals (fol. 16). In the Crucifixion the lance bearer stands next to the Virgin, facing John, the sun and the moon and two weeping angels appear above the horizontal arms of the cross, and on the top of the vertical arm, partly above the frame, the artist has represented the pelican feeding his young in their nest (fol. 17v). This group is derived from the medieval collection of Christian allegories known as the *Physiologus*; it is frequently represented in the art of western Europe from the XIIth century on, and beginning with the XVth century it forms an integral part of the Crucifixion in Armenian manuscripts. In the *Physiologus* the pelican is a symbol of the Resurrection; the inscriptions which accompany the representations in Armenian manuscripts give an allegorical interpretation connecting it more closely with the Crucifixion; they read: "In similitude to Christ the pelican pierced his side and fed his young. Christ pierced His side and redeemed us with His blood." The Entombment has the symmetrical composition adopted in the XVth century: Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, carrying the body of Christ, stand facing one another in front of a large ornate cross flanked by two candles, the two holy women stand behind Joseph and Nicodemus, and two weeping angels appear above them (fol. 18). In the Harrowing of Hell a high red rock rises behind Christ; Adam, Eve and Abel on one side, John the Baptist, David and Solomon on the other side stand against a black background (fol. 19v). The Angel pointing out

the empty sepulchre to the Holy women wears a white garment with gold lines, as did Christ in the Transfiguration, in order to suggest the luminous apparition; the four sleeping soldiers sit huddled close together (fol. 20, fig. 3). In the Ascension gold and red rays descend from the mandorla of Christ on the heads of the apostles and of the Virgin who stands in the center against a rectangular frame (fol. 21v); in the Pentecost scene the apostles are seated in two rows, in four groups of three, and the tongues of fire, radiating from the dove, descend on the throne placed in the center. Under the arched opening in the foreground two men, wearing pointed bonnets, stand at the sides of a young, crowned figure who symbolizes the universe, the "Kosmos" (fol. 22). The Dormition of the Virgin, which had been represented earlier in Armenian monumental art, was added in the XIVth century to the cycle of miniatures in Gospel manuscripts.¹⁹ The composition follows the Byzantine type²⁰ with Peter holding a censer and addressing the Jew, Jephonias, who stands in the center, his severed hands attached to the Virgin's bed (fol. 23c, fig. 4).

BEGINNING with the XIVth century and especially during the XVth century the Gospel cycle of Armenian manuscripts was enriched by the addition of several compositions illustrating the Second Coming of Christ and the Last Judgment, and these miniatures are among the most interesting of our manuscript. Folio 24v is divided into three horizontal bands with black and red backgrounds (fig. 5). Three nude figures are seated in each band; the inscription over the first band is illegible; over the left half of the second band is written "the sleepless worms," and yellow worms surround the two nude figures; the inscription over the right half, which has a red background, reads: "It is the fire of hell"; and above the last three figures, with serpents coiled around them, the scribe has written: "The adulteress, those who lend their ears, those who have sinned with their tongues." Eight semi-circular black objects are drawn in the lower margin, on the left, and on the right are two demons (partly cut off) carrying loads on their backs. These loads, as can be seen from other examples which have an

explanatory inscription, represent the sins, and the semi-circular objects probably show the sins not yet gathered by the demons.

The sojourn of the sinners in hell is further developed on the opposite page (fol. 25, fig. 6). Hades, clasping a soul to his breast, is seated on a two-headed monster vomiting a soul from each mouth; under the monster's body is a large rectangle with rows of human heads separated by small, red flames. Four nude figures, chained to one another by their necks, stand on the left side of the lower margin and on the right there is again a demon with a load on his back.

The next two pages are devoted to the Last Judgment. In the upper part of folio 25v (fig. 7) is an ornate cross with a large medallion at the center framing the figure of the beardless Christ, enthroned and blessing; at the sides of the cross are the sun and the moon and, lower down, a kneeling angel blowing a trumpet and, facing him, a seated angel holding a large open scroll. The apostles, headed by Peter who carries a large key, are seated below, inside an arched frame, and in their midst, drawn on a much larger scale, is a figure clothed as a bishop. The Judgment scales hang from the lower band of the frame; the left tray rests on the back of a demon; two other demons try to pull down the right tray and a third one crouches next to a semi-circular object. All these demons are pierced by two half-figures of angels carrying a sword or a long lance. On folio 25 (fig. 8) the Ancient of Days, holding a closed book and blessing, is seated on a throne from which project the four symbols of the Evangelists; the Virgin and John the Baptist stand at the sides, in an attitude of supplication. Below the throne appear two kneeling priests who are, no doubt, the owner Ter Mkrtitch and his brother, the scribe and illuminator Grigor.

These four pages group together elements taken from two different iconographic types of the representation of the Last Judgment. The torments of the sinners, the figure of Hades seated on the two-headed monster, the weighing of the souls, the trumpeting angel, and the angel with the scroll representing the heaven which "departed as a scroll when it is rolled together" (Rev. VI. 14) all belong to the traditional Byzantine composition preserved in a number of well-known examples dating from the XIth and following centuries, such as the mini-



Fig. 5. The Souls in Hell

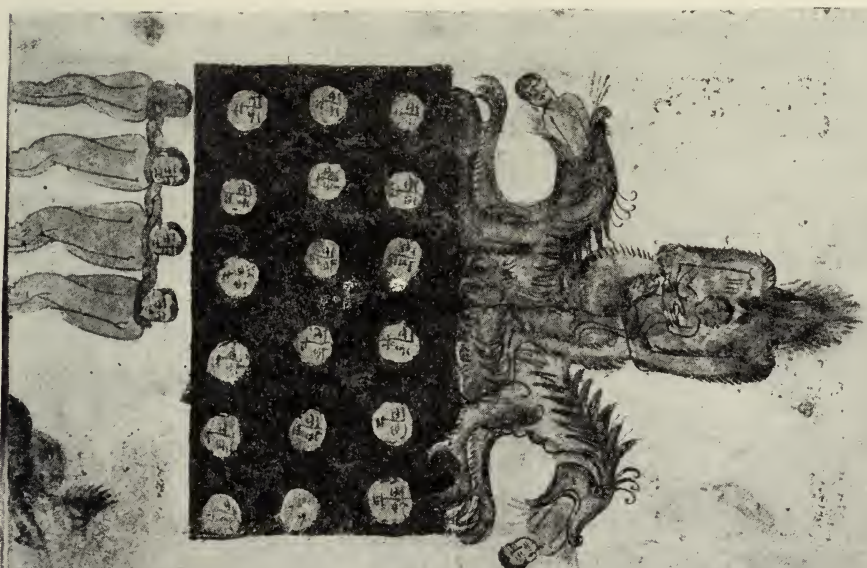


Fig. 6. Hades

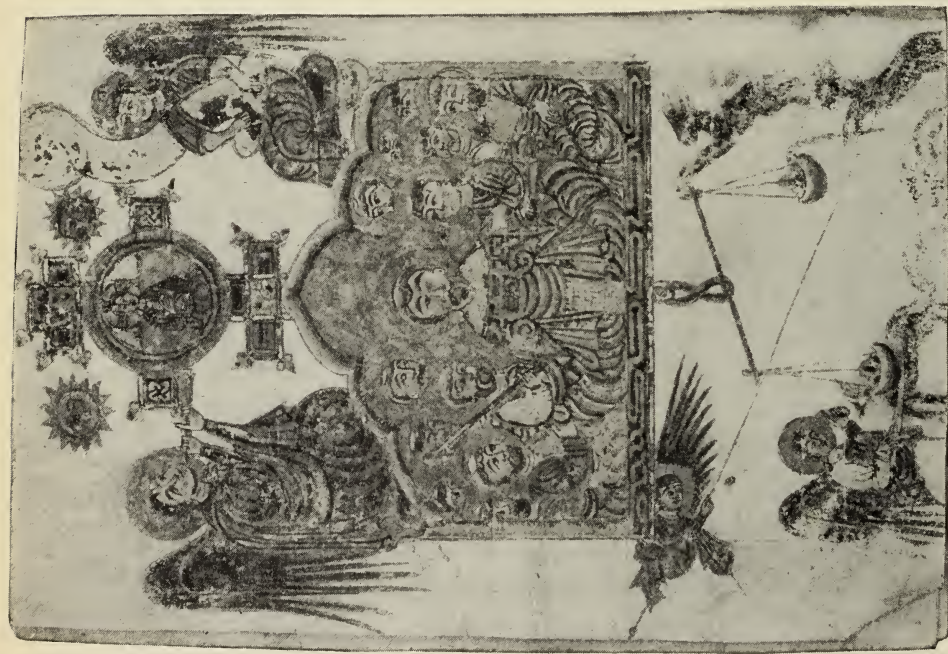


Fig. 7. Last Judgment

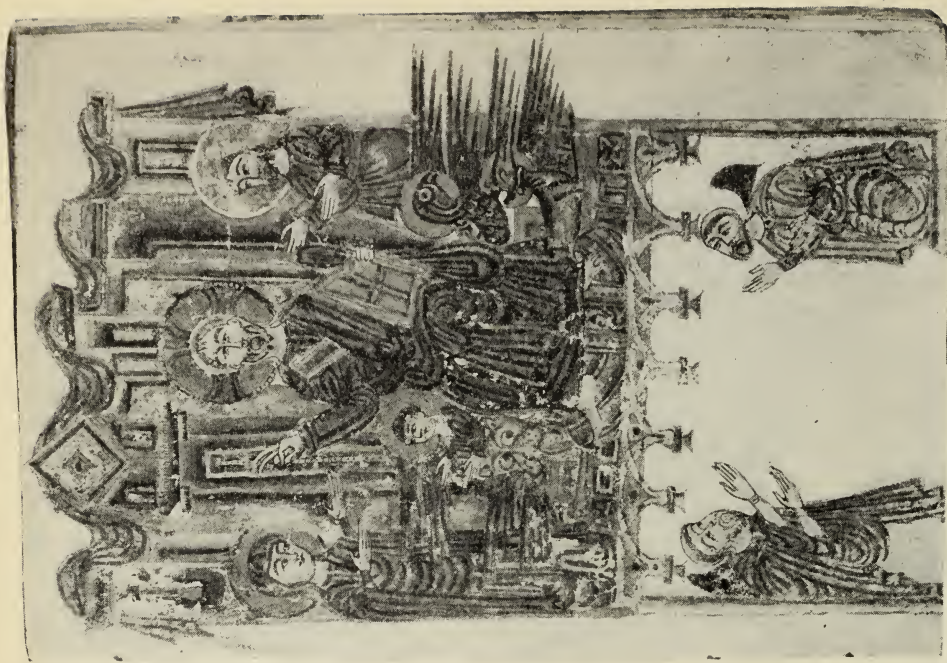


Fig. 8. Last Judgment

atures of the Greek Gospel Paris. gr. 74, the ivory of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the mosaics covering the west wall of the cathedral of Torcello, near Venice.²¹ The Armenian artists of the XIIIth century were familiar with this monumental type — witness the full-page miniature of a Gospel painted in Cilicia in 1262,²² but this type seems to have been abandoned shortly after and is only revived in the XVI and XVII centuries. During the XVth century and especially in the region of Lake Van, where our manuscript was illustrated, we find a different interpretation. The group of the *Deesis*, that is, Christ enthroned between the Virgin and John the Baptist, is separated from the larger composition of the Last Judgment and instead of the historic, mature Christ we see an aged figure, the Ancient of Days of the vision of Daniel and of the Revelation, seated on the tetramorphs, as on folio 26.²³ The weighing of the souls usually forms part of this composition and it includes the demons carrying the loads of sins on their backs. The scales sometimes hang directly from under the throne of the Ancient of Days, at other times the apostles are represented below the *Deesis*, and the scales hang from the band under the apostles' feet. The Judgment scene is preceded by the representation of the Cross with the figure of Christ, in a medallion, and four trumpeting angels filling the spaces between the arms of the Cross.²⁴ The composition is inspired by the text of Matthew XXIV. 30-31: "And then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven . . . and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he shall send his angels with a great sound of the trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other." The donor and the scribe are usually represented kneeling at the foot of the cross although there are some examples in which they kneel before the throne of the Ancient of Days as they do here.

These various elements are slightly modified and differently grouped in the present manuscript. The four trumpeting angels have been reduced to one, separated from the cross, and this figure as well as the angel rolling the heavens are taken over, as has just been mentioned, from the Byzantine type of Last Judgment. More important than this change, however, is the fact

that by separating the apostles and the weighing of the souls from the *Deesis*, and by transferring them to the opposite page, the apparition of the "sign of the Son of Man" has been considerably reduced in size and the judgment seems to be performed by the apostles, rather than by the Ancient of Days.

The most prominent person among these judges is a bishop and not one of the apostles. The same figure occurs in other Armenian manuscripts and the inscription in a Gospel of the year 1475 (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery no. 540) identify him as Saint Gregory the Illuminator. Thus the founder of the Armenian church is not only ranked with the apostles but he precedes them all and occupies the most important place.

The portrait of Matthew (fig. 9) has certain unusual features: two angels are represented in the outer margin, one behind Mat-

thew, and the other worshipping Christ figured in the middle of the tympanum above the seated Evangelist.²⁵ Beginning with the XIIIth century the angel, the symbol of Matthew, often stands facing the Evangelist or comes out of a segment of sky drawn in the upper corner of the miniature, but I know of no other example where two angels are shown outside the composition.

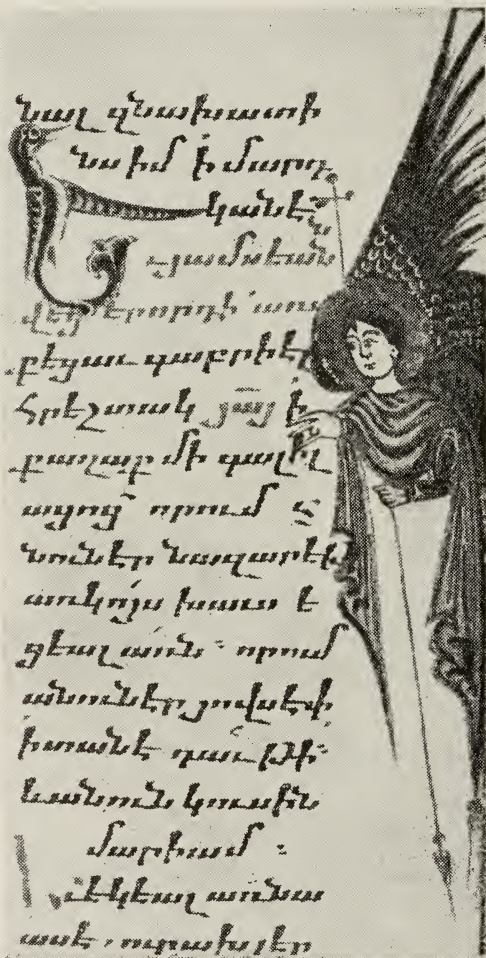


Fig. 10. The angel of the Annunciation

The bust figure of Christ sometimes appears in this segment of sky instead of the angel, or it is painted above the representation of the Evangelist. The earliest example known so far occurs in a Gospel of the late XIIth or early XIIIth century where the Ancient of Days is represented above the portrait of John.²⁶ The other Evangelist portraits of this manuscript are unfortunately lost and we do not know if they were accompanied by similar medallions with the youthful or mature Christ, but in manuscripts of a later date, which repeat the figure of the Ancient of Days above the portrait of John, the youthful, beardless Christ is painted above the portrait of Mark.²⁷ The painter of our manuscript may have followed this procedure for all four portraits and consistently represented a medallion with the figure of Christ over each one of the four Evangelists.

The three miniatures added in the XVIIth century conform to the usual types: Mark and Luke are seated writing or meditating; John dictates his Gospel to Prochoros.

MANY of the marginal miniatures consist of single figures: Christ, Joseph of Arimathea, John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene or others. These single figures are sometimes represented in lieu of the whole scene: for instance, the angel alone for the Annunciation (fig. 10), or a shepherd playing the flute for the Annunciation to the shepherds (fol. 172v), and they are usually a direct illustration of the opening sentence of the daily reading. Thus opposite the words: "Now a certain man was sick, named Lazarus" (Jn. XI.1), we see on folio 280v Lazarus in bed instead of the Raising of Lazarus; next to the words: "Then the

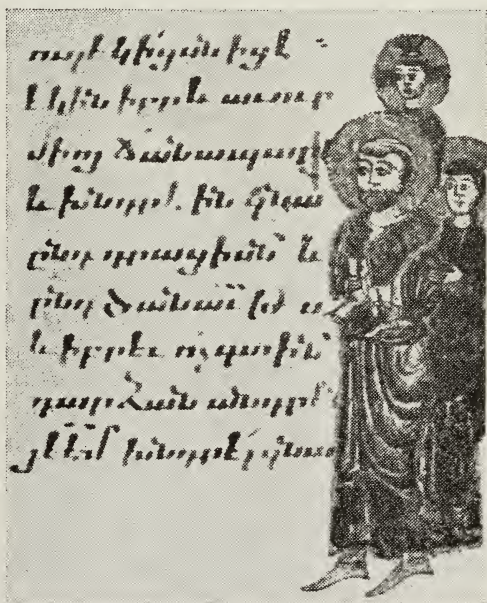


Fig. 11. *The Virgin, Joseph and Jesus*

angel alone for the Annunciation to the shepherds (fol. 172v), and they are usually a direct illustration of the opening sentence of the daily reading. Thus opposite the words: "Now a certain man was sick, named Lazarus" (Jn. XI.1), we see on folio 280v Lazarus in bed instead of the Raising of Lazarus; next to the words: "Then the

eleven went to Galilee into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them" (Mt. XXVIII. 16), a hill has been drawn instead of the meeting between Christ and the disciples after the Resurrection (fol. 114). At other times the painter has attempted to represent the principal figures by placing them one above the other in the outer margin. This could be done successfully in the fairly numerous representations of the miracles where the sick men are kneeling at Christ's feet, but whenever the subject did not lend itself to such a grouping the results are less satisfactory.

In the XIIIth and XIVth centuries the Armenian painters of Cilicia frequently illustrated the Gospel by means of marginal miniatures, while those of Greater Armenia retained the earlier practice of full-page miniatures grouped at the beginning. The Cilician tradition was transmitted to the schools which developed in the northern and eastern regions of Lake Van and several compositions of our manuscript are borrowed from these earlier works. Thus the group of Mary and Joseph, with the infant Jesus on his shoulder, going up to Jerusalem (Lk. II.41; fig. 11) exactly repeats the composition of the Walters Gospel no. 539 of the year 1262 (fol. 20v); the figure on folio 259v seated inside a building and seen through the large opening of the door recalls similar representations in another XIIIth-century Cilician Gospel, now in the Freer Gallery no. 32.18. The practice of representing a particular person or detail instead of the entire scene developed in Cilicia in the XIVth century and some of the more unusual examples of our manuscript occur in the Gospels illustrated by a well-known Cilician painter, Sargis Pidzak; such as Lazarus lying in bed, already mentioned, Judas kneeling instead of the Betrayal, or a richly dressed woman, kneeling, to illustrate the lesson from Luke XII. 32-48. The exact meaning of this figure is not clear; in the XIVth-century manuscript she is represented next to verse 34 "for where your treasure is there will your heart be also," and the painter may have wished to personify in this manner the ties that bind men and prevent them from amassing treasures in heaven.²⁸

The ornamental designs follow the types established in the preceding centuries. Narrow rectangles, supported by two or three columns, are painted above the letter of Eusebius and the

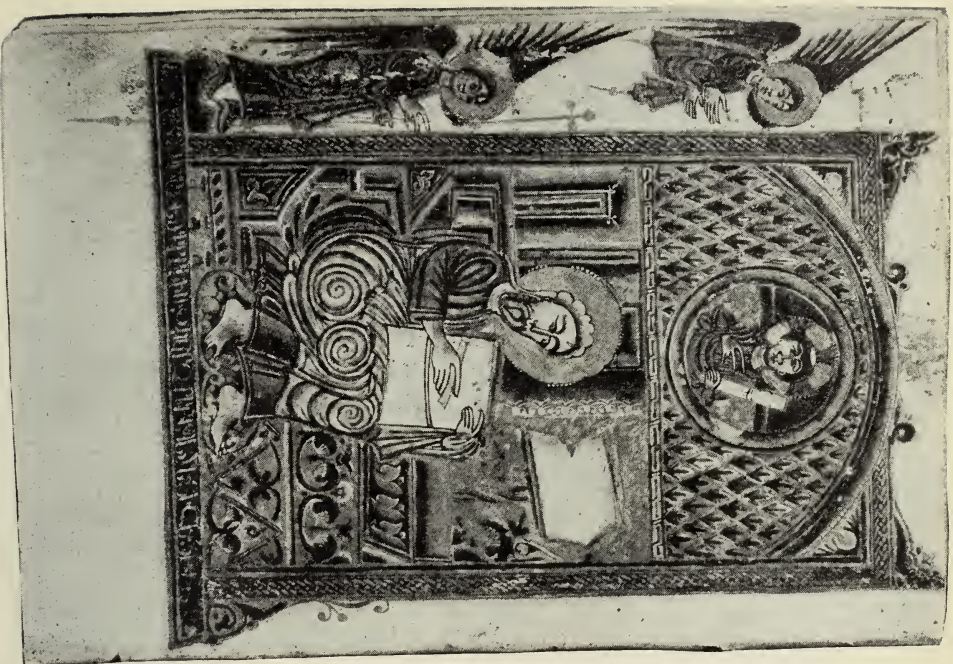


Fig. 9. Portrait of Matthew



Fig. 13. First page of the Gospel of Matthew

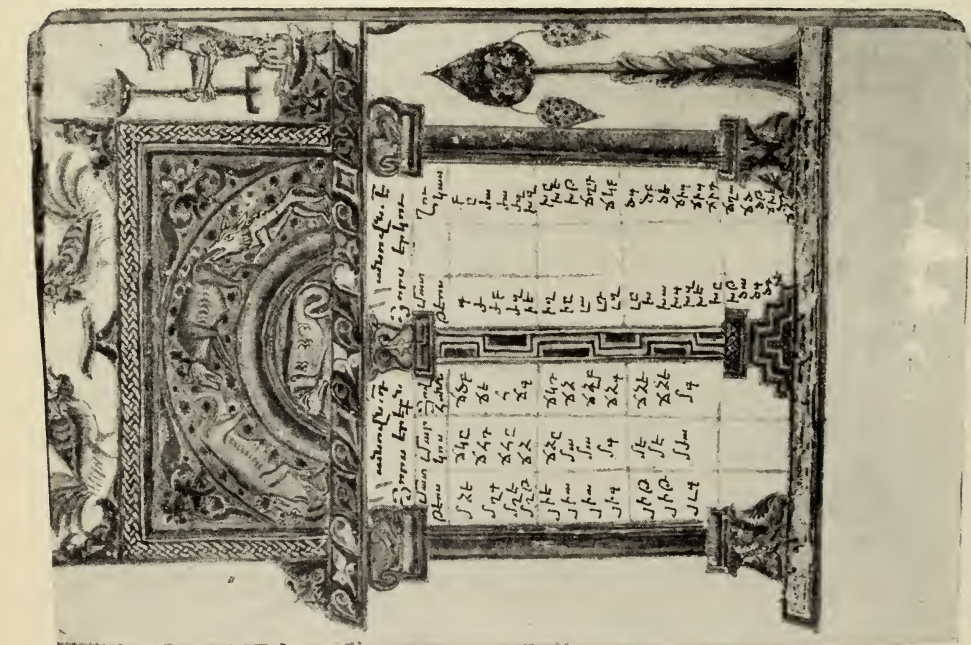


Fig. 12. Canon Table



Fig. 14. Back cover. Resurrection

Canon tables; inscribed arches or triangles divide the surface into separate compartments filled with stylized palmette scrolls or squares and lozenges framing single floral motifs. As usual, the portraits of Eusebius and Carpius are drawn in the lunettes, over the letter, and as in other XVth-century manuscripts the pointed arches framing these portraits extend above the rectangle. The predilection shown by the painter of this manuscript for animal figures, especially quadrupeds, is a characteristic feature of the art of the XVth century in this region. These quadrupeds, seated, crouching or fighting with one another, frequently replace the floral or geometric motifs in the triangular spaces, or they are shown pursuing one another on the curved surface of the arches (fig. 12). Confronted birds appear as usual over the rectangles, or they are perched on the trees drawn in the outer margins; one also sees monkeys on these trees, or, next to the rectangles, dogs holding lighted candlesticks.

The usual palmette scrolls or floral motifs framed by squares or lozenges fill the headpieces of the four Gospels, and interlacing palmettes form the customary marginal ornaments (fig. 13). The general scheme is that of Cilician manuscripts of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries and the later date is indicated only by the complex arches opening into the headpieces.

THE illustrations of this manuscript are more striking in the rich color harmonies than in the drawing of the individual figures. Red and purple are the favorite colors and the general effect of red is heightened in the present state of the manuscript, for the gold of the nimbus and of part of the background has flaked off, in many instances leaving exposed the red under paint. The artist also uses warm ochers, a deep blue, as well as a bright green more common in Persian than in Armenian manuscripts. The figures are fairly slender, they stand in rigid poses, usually in symmetrical groups, taking up most of the space, especially when a large number has to be represented and the rows of heads come to the upper frame. Real or imaginary buildings with hanging draperies, mountains or trees fill up whatever space is left available. The artist is primarily inter-

ested in creating a decorative pattern. The parallel folds of the draperies, replaced by swirling lines on the thighs and knees, are all shaded in the same manner, giving the impression of a series of rolls; the shapes of the mountains are subordinated to the general composition and rocks protrude in different directions to fit into the area left free by the figures. The interest in the ornamental effect is also apparent in the use of different colors for the background of each composition.

The stylistic features are common to the artists working in the eastern and northern regions of Lake Van at this time and may be seen in such manuscripts as the Gospel of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris. arm. 18) copied in 1456 at the island of Ktuts in the north-eastern part of Lake Van,²⁹ the Gospel of the Pierpont Morgan Library no. 749 copied at Van in 1461, or the Gospel of the Bodleian Library, Arm. e. 1, copied in 1497 at the island of Aght'amar in Lake Van. The influence of Persian art makes itself felt, to a certain extent, in the facial types, in the color harmonies, in certain details of the costumes but, on the whole, this style shows the natural development of the decorative tendencies common to the artists of the Near East.

The illustration of the Boston Gospel is richer than that of the three manuscripts just mentioned, and shows more clearly the different artistic trends active in this region. The marginal miniatures or some of the scenes of the Last Judgment are witnesses of the presence of models painted by the Armenian artists of Cilicia. The use of a multiple frontispiece is, on the other hand, more characteristic of the art of the northern provinces of Greater Armenia, where the Gospel cycle was also gradually enriched by the addition of Old Testament subjects as well as of several scenes relating to the Second Coming of Christ and the Last Judgment. This new group of subjects was adopted and further developed by the artists of the northern regions of Lake Van, in particular by Mgrtitch Naghash, painter and poet, bishop of Nisibis and Amida, who worked for some time at Khlat' (=Akhlat) north of Lake Van.

Our manuscript must have served as a model at a later time, for the outlines of the principal figures in the Harrowing of Hell on folio 19v are perforated with small pin points which do not show on the painting, but are visible on the back. The method

used for transferring the composition must have been the pounding process practiced by fresco-painters and this method must have been fairly wide-spread, for in a number of Armenian manuscripts the scribes beg those who read or copy their work not to disfigure it by making pin pricks. An English bestiary of the XIIIth century was the only manuscript known so far in which such perforations could actually be seen,³⁰ and our Gospel thus brings an additional contribution to the history of copying in the Middle Ages.

Two silver plaques with figures in relief are nailed on the leather binding of the Gospel and the clasps have the shape of arms and hands. The Crucifixion with the Virgin and John the Evangelist standing at the sides of the cross is represented inside a quatrefoil frame in the center of the front cover; the Evangelists, with their symbols standing next to them or crouching at their feet, occupy the four corners of the cover. The Resurrection, which decorates the back cover, conforms to the iconographic type of western Europe followed by the Armenian artists of the XVIIth century: Christ, holding the bannered cross, rises from the tomb and the sleeping soldiers wear Roman armor. The Angel holding a flower and the kneeling Virgin of the Annunciation, the figure of John the Baptist below and the female figure with a censer are also borrowed from western models (fig. 14).

Both in style and iconography these covers are typical examples of the work of the Armenian silversmiths of the XVIIth century and it is quite probable, therefore, that this is the binding made in 1663 by Ter Hohannes of Bitlis.

Notes

1. G. Bayan, "Le synaxaire arménien de Ter Israël," *Patrologia Orientalis*, XVIII (1924), pp. 175-8.

2. H. Oskian, *The Monasteries of Vaspurakan-Van* (in Armenian), Vienna, 1940, vol. I, pp. 357-378.

3. Gh. P'irghalemian, *The Scribes (Notark') of the Armenians* (in Armenian), Constantinople, 1888, pp. 100-101.

4. H. Oskian, *op. cit.*, pp. 367-9.

5. E. Lalayan, *Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts of Vaspurakan* (in Armenian), Tiflis, 1915, col. 465-8; Oskian, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-5.

6. Oskian, *op. cit.*, pp. 370-1.

7. Colophon on folio 318: "Remember again Gharip djan of K'rdagom, of Mush, who gave a hundred piasters from his rightful earnings and saved this holy manuscript from captivity and placed it at the monastery of Ter Huskanordi, in memory of himself and for his soul . . ." On fol. 316: "Remember in Christ, hope of all men, the binder of this holy Gospel . . . Ter Hohanes of Baghesh, together with his parents and his children. And especially the owner of this, Gharip of K'rdagom, the faithful householder who received this from his rightful earnings . . . Remember also Ter Paghtasar who persuaded and encouraged them to buy and bind this holy Gospel. In the year of the Armenians 1112 (=1663 A.D.)."

8. Fol. 165v: "I, Margaré vardapet, from the province of Taron, now called Mush, who am from the monastery of the Twelve Apostles, and now I came to the province of Tarberuni, to the city of Berkri, to the monastery of Argelan, and I saw this holy Gospel a captive in the hands of the aliens (=Muslims), and we were barely able, together with the people, to free it from the hands of the unlawful."

9. Fol. 36: ". . . Margaré vardapet . . . a pupil of Margaré vardapet of Mush who with great efforts and labor and force freed this holy Gospel which had been carried away and sold in the province of Taron, in the village of K'rd'agom, and who bringing it back placed it at the monastery of Stephen the wonder-worker, son of Ter-Husik, as a memorial for his soul . . ."

10. Fol. 36: "Remember again in Christ the bishop Ter Aristakes, I, myself, brought it from the village called K'r(d)agom and placed it at the monastery of Saint Karapet (the Forerunner), and have mercy on him and on his parents and on his deceased. Our Father who . . ." Further down after the words of the first inscription "and bringing it placed it on the," the second writer has added between the lines: "the monastery of Glak called Saint Karapet and the holy Father Saint Athanagene and Saint Stephen the Protomartyr and Saint Gregory the Illuminator."

11. Fol. 315, in the first column left blank by the writer of the principal colophon: "The undersigned who for many years has undertaken to collect, for the use of one national and political history, the colophons of ancient manuscripts, having seen this, I copied it, as I had copied the colophons of other manuscripts of the city of Karin (=Erzerum) during my last year's visit. I beg of you to remember in your holy wishes my humble self who come from Van, a monk of (the monastery of) Varag, a native of Tosp." Signed Ghevond var-

dapet P'irghalemians. 1869, Dec. 8. The collection of colophons published by P'irghalemian (*Notark'*, Constantinople, 1888) covers the period 1393 to 1467 and therefore does not include the colophon of the present manuscript.

12. *More Books*. Being the Bulletin of the Boston Public Library. December 1926, p. 338.

13. The manuscript has 320 folios of fine vellum measuring $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, quires of 5 double leaves numbered in Armenian letters in the lower margin from 1 to 23; the quires which precede the Gospel of Matthew and the last quire of the manuscript are not numbered. The text is in two columns of 21 lines each; the concordances of the other Gospels are indicated in the lower margin. Silver binding with clasps. Composition of the manuscript: fol. 1-5 blank; fol. 5v-26 full page miniatures; fol. 27v-35v, Letter of Eusebius to Carpius and Canon Tables; fol. 36v, Portrait of Matthew; fol. 37-114v, Gospel of Matthew; fol. 115v, Portrait of Mark; fol. 116-165v, Gospel of Mark; fol. 166v, Portrait of Luke; fol. 167-247, Gospel of Luke; fol. 247v, Portrait of John and Prochoros; fol. 248-311, Gospel of John; fol. 311-318v, Colophons; fol. 319-320 blank.

14. The last two Canon tables instead of facing one another, as usual, are written on the recto and verso of the same leaf (fol. 35), and the last one has no decorative frame.

15. Etchmiadzin no. 229, dated 989 A.D. (F. Macler, *L'Évangile Arménien. Édition phototypique du manuscrit no. 229 de la Bibliothèque d'Etchmiadzin*, Paris 1920, fol. 8); Vienna, Mekhitharist Library no. 697. (F. Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes. Vie de Christ*. Paris 1913, pl. VI, fig. 12); Jerusalem, Armenian patriarchate no. 2555 (J. Strzygowski, "Ein zweites Etschmiadzin-Evangelium," *Huschardzan . . . Handes-Amsorya*, Vienna 1911, pl. III).

16. Etchmiadzin, no. 189/206. S. Der Nersessian, "Western Iconographic Themes in Armenian Manuscripts," *Gazette des Beaux-arts*, XXVI (1944), fig. 3 and pp. 73-76.

17. Similar composition in a Bible at Venice, San Lazzaro no. 280 (10), illustrated at Khlat' north of Lake Van by Mkrtitch Naghash (i.e. the Painter), bishop of Amida and Nisibis. The miniature is on folio 544v, before the Gospels, and is the first of fifteen full-page miniatures illustrating the life of Christ.

18. This iconographic type which differs from the earlier compositions such as the miniature of a Bible written at Erzinjan in 1269 (Jerusalem, Armenian patriarchate no. 1925, see: A. Tchobanian, *La Roseaie d'Arménie*, Paris, 1929, vol. III, p. 256) was adopted by the artists working in the region of Lake Van: Brit. Museum Or. 2707, Gospel written at Khlat' in 1541; Paris, École des Langues Orientales, Hymnal written at Varag in 1595-6 (F. Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, Paris, 1913, fig. 75); New York, Kevorkian collection, no. 11, Gospel written at Khizan in 1621.

19. Church of St. Gregory at Ani built by Tigran Honents in 1215, see J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, Venice, 1918, p. 301, fig. 339. Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 1917, Gospel of the year 1307, see S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des XII^e, et XIII^e et XIV^e siècles . . .*, Paris, 1937, pl. LIII, fig. 117 and pp. 130-131.

20. L. Wratislav-Mitrović et N. Okunev, "La Dormition de la Sainte Vierge dans la peinture médiévale orthodoxe." *Byzantinoslavica*, III (1931), pp. 134-174.

21. *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI^e siècle*, Paris, 1908, pl. 41; see

26. Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 888; see S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pl. XXXVI, fig. 73 and pp. 95-6.
27. New York, Kevorkian collection, no. 11, Gospel written at Khizan in 1621.
28. Venice, San Lazzaro no. 16, Gospel of the year 1331; see S Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pl. XCIII, fig. 210 and 211, pl. XC, fig. 190 and pp. 154-5.
29. F. Macler, *Miniatures*, pl. XVI-XIX.
30. Samuel A. Ives and Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *An English 13th century Bestiary*, New York, 1942, pp. 35-41. I wish to thank Professor Ernst Kitzinger who called my attention to this western example.
also the compartments with nude figures, human heads and skulls. Margaret H. Longhurst, *Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory*, London, 1927, vol. I, pl. XXII. G. Lorenzetti, *Torcello*, Venice, 1939, pp. 50-57.
22. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 539; see: S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, Cambridge, 1945, pl. XXVIII.
23. F. Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, fig. 62, 95, *Id.*, *Documents d'art arménien*, Paris, 1924, fig. 56, 61, 113, 167.
24. F. Macler, *Miniatures*, fig. 61, 74, 96, *Id.*, *Documents*, fig. 57, 112, 168.
25. The name of the owner, Mkrtitch, is written on the lower band of the frame. It should be noted that Christ is tonsured as are also the apostles in several compositions of this manuscript.

The Revisions of the Prayer Book

By ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

THE first Book of Common Prayer was to go into effect on Whitsunday, June 9, 1549, but already before that date rebellion broke out in Cornwall and Devonshire. Noblemen and priests were mingling with the commoners, the former organizing armed troops and the latter inflaming the people against the religious innovations.¹ The insurgents sent to the King eight demands, asking for the restoration of the Six Articles, the administration of baptism on weekdays as well as on holidays, the use of the holy bread and holy water, and of various ceremonies.

The uprising in the western counties was not an isolated phenomenon; there had been outbreaks during the preceding year throughout the country. What gave the western rebellion its peculiar nature was its religious coloring. The other uprisings were different; they were almost entirely social, springing from the general, deep-seated agrarian discontent. The eastern counties, if anything, were in favor of a more radical Reformation. In Norfolk, where the rebellion broke out at the same time as in Cornwall and Devonshire, reaching perhaps even greater proportions, Gospellers and Anabaptists made up a large part of the insurgent army.²

For over half a century, the situation of the peasantry had been steadily deteriorating. The unchecked growth of the enclosures — the conversion of vast stretches of land into pasture — had been turning masses of former tenants into vagabonds. And with the dissolution of the monasteries the lot of the common people became even more wretched: the new gentry, concerned only with profit, and the nobility, using the abbey lands for enlarging their parks and hunting preserves, proved to be far more exploiting and tyrannical than the ecclesiastical landlords. It was inevitable that the grievances, for which the peasantry was unable to find remedy, should lead to bloody riots. There were full-scale insurrections — the so-called Pilgrimages of Grace — in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in 1536, which

Henry VIII suppressed with the utmost cruelty. The resulting "Christian quietness," however, was uncertain, and in 1548 and 1549 the rebellion spread throughout the country. "In the most parties of the Realme," the Duke of Somerset wrote to the Marquis of Dorset, "sundry lewde persons have attempted t'assemble themselves, and first seking redresse of enclosures, have in some places by seditious priests and other yvel peple set forth to seke restitution of tholde bluddy lawes . . ."³

In the west, the uprising grew into a regular civil war; the insurgents, numbering ten thousand, besieged Exeter, the chief city of Devonshire. Extending their demands to fifteen points, they wanted, besides the revival of the Six Articles, the abolition of the English translation of the Bible and the recall of Cardinal Pole. Exeter was relieved and the uprising was finally quelled by Lord Russell's German and Italian mercenaries. In the east, the peasants' army, which increased to sixteen thousand men, found an able leader in Robert Ket, who pitched his camp outside of Norwich, near a huge tree which they called the Oak of Reformation. It remained for the Earl of Warwick and his foreign troops to put down their rebellion. The savagery with which the Earl wreaked his vengeance stood in sharp contrast to the discipline exercised by the peasants.⁴

The Protector himself, although as greedy as any for spoils from the confiscated church properties, was well aware of the conditions of the people. Soon after Edward's accession, he introduced several bills into Parliament for the protection of the farmers, also naming a new commission to inquire into the problem of enclosures. Parliament, however, shelved the bills, and the work of the commission was sabotaged. John Hales, whose *Discourse of the Common Weal* presents a graphic picture of the starvation of husbandmen, was brutally reviled. The Duke of Somerset, therefore, was hesitant in his dealing with the insurgents. He urged leniency upon Russell and, on June 14, issued a proclamation promising pardon to penitents. The gentry was furious; Paget, then ambassador to the Emperor, warned the Duke: "When you have done severe justice it will be time enough to think of pardons." The Earl of Warwick had no such scruples, and his butchery in Norfolk made him the hero of the day. A plot for the deposition of the Protector was soon un-

der way. With masterly intrigue, making use of extreme Reformers and malcontent Catholics alike, the Earl staged a *coup* against Somerset. Charged with treason, on October 12 the Duke was arrested and committed to the Tower. Warwick became the actual head of the government, and Parliament proceeded at once with retaliation against the peasantry. Enclosures were made legal, and it was declared treason to assemble for the purpose of breaking down any hedges, abating rents, and lowering prices. At the same time, the prohibition against conspiring to raise prices was repealed.

Cranmer and men like Bishop Latimer and Bishop Ridley sympathized with the sufferings of the poor. In his sermon on the rebellion in the west, ostensibly directed against the insurgents, the Archbishop spoke out strongly against those who "through covetousness of joining land to land, and enclosures to enclosures, have wronged and oppressed a great multitude of the King's faithful subjects." And again: "Although I seem only to speak against the unlawful assemblers, yet I cannot allow these — I must needs threaten everlasting damnation unto them whether they be gentlemen or whosoever they be — which never cease to purchase and join house to house and land to land, as though they alone ought to possess and inhabit the earth."⁵ But some of the most ardent Reformers, impatient with Somerset's mild measures in religious matters, were beguiled by Warwick's tactics. Thus John Hooper called the Earl "the most faithful and intrepid soldier of Christ . . . a most holy and fearless instrument of the Word of God."⁶

This confusion of motives and forces obscures the events of the times, supporting Cardinal Gasquet's claim that the Reformation in England was state-imposed and not a popular movement. Even Canon Dixon was forced to conclude that "the period was filled with the revolution of the rich against the poor."⁷

THE Prayer Book of 1549 was a compromise, and did not satisfy either the Catholics or the Reformers. The former objected to the changes in the ceremonies, and were particularly offended by the forbidding of the elevation of the Host; whereas the latter regarded it as not going far enough.

The Reformists' party was greatly strengthened by the influx of foreign theologians, outstanding among whom were Martin Bucer of Strassburg, Peter Martyr of Florence, and John à Lasco of Poland. Bucer, who tried to reconcile the views of Luther and Zwingli, was received with especial warmth by Cranmer. After he had stayed for several months at the Archbishop's palace at Croyden, in the fall of 1549 he was appointed Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. The surroundings were not congenial to the German divine, who found the Fellows "either most bitter papists or dissolute epicureans." Upon the request of Bishop Goodrich of Ely, he began a treatise on the Prayer Book. His *Censura*, finished on January 5, 1551, contains a long array of criticisms and recommendations. Bucer objected to kneeling at the communion, and to anointing, signing with the cross, bell-ringing, the delivery of the sacrament into the mouth instead of the hand, and many other ceremonies. He wanted to have the exorcism at baptism and the prayers for the dead removed. Above all, he opposed the clause of the Prayer of Consecration asking that the elements may become the Body and Blood of Christ.⁸ Suffering from the inclemencies of the English-weather (once the King sent him £20 to build a stove), his health was undermined and on the last day of February he died. Yet Bucer's work exerted a profound influence upon the revision of the Prayer Book. Peter Martyr, who had come to England in November 1547 and soon afterwards was made Professor of Divinity at Oxford, also made recommendations to Cranmer. Not knowing English, he used a partial Latin translation of the Prayer Book by Sir John Cheke.⁹ John à Lasco had spent six months in England as Cranmer's guest at the time of the enactment of the Prayer Book. Returning in May 1550, he served as the head of the Strangers' Church in London. The service in Latin which he prepared for his congregation was undoubtedly known by Cranmer. But especially influential was à Lasco's book on the Sacraments, which appeared during the revision of the Prayer Book.¹⁰

Rigorous efforts were made to enforce the use of the new service. A royal visitation was held after midsummer, with instructions to make certain that "no minister do counterfeit the popish mass, as to kiss the Lord's table; washing his fingers

every time in the communion; blessing his eyes with the paten or sudary; or crossing his head with the paten; shifting of the book from one place to another; laying down and licking the chalice of the communion; holding up his fingers, hands, or thumbs, joined towards his temples; breathing upon the bread or chalice; showing the sacrament openly before the distribution of the communion; ringing or sacrying bells; or setting any light upon the Lord's board at any time . . ."¹¹ Vigilance was necessary, for the curates tended to disregard the Prayer Book everywhere. Compelled to use English, they continued the tone and manner of chanting to which they were accustomed in the Latin Mass. Many of the bishops furnished the examples for the disaffection. Bonner of London had to be severely rebuked for the continuance of private masses at St. Paul's.¹² But he offended as much by deliberately absenting himself from his church as by adhering to the Missal. Ordered to appear in the Cathedral to celebrate the Communion according to the new rite, he finally did so "discreetly and sadly."¹³ In his test sermon before the King on September 1, he defiantly maintained the corporeal presence in the Lord's Supper. For his "wilful negligence or perversite" he was hailed before a commission, and was sentenced to imprisonment and the loss of his office.¹⁴

The conservatives who expected a change from Somerset's fall and Warwick's coming to power were, indeed, quickly disappointed. On Christmas Day the King wrote to Cranmer condemning the "dyvers unquyette and evill disposed persons" who since the apprehension of the Duke "have noysed and bruted abrode that they sholde have agayne theire olde Lattene service, their conjured bredde and water, with such lyke vayne and superstitiouse ceremonies . . ."¹⁵ The letter demanded the confiscation of the various service books ("Antyphoners Myssalles Scrayles, Processionalles Manualles Legends Pyes . . .") and the further destruction of images ("of Stone Tymbre Alleblaster or Earthe graven carved or paynted") — an order which was later enacted into a statute.¹⁶ More important still, in the first days of 1550, a bill for an Ordinal was introduced into the House of Lords. Six prelates and six other learned men were appointed to prepare "the fourme and maner of makynge and

consecratynge Bishoppes, Priestes, and Deacons." By the end of March the book was in print. The more zealous Reformers were definitely in the ascendancy. Bonner's place was taken by Ridley, who, as Thirlby had been translated to Norwich, was also appointed Bishop of Westminster. Heath and Day were imprisoned, and Hooper and Coverdale were made respectively Bishops of Gloucester and Exeter. Meanwhile Somerset was released, but Warwick continued to wield power, and he, like the young King, spurred on the radicals.

(In the midst of the ever-sharpening controversies, there appeared a little book which should have soothed the fighters, for a while at least. It was *The booke of Common praier* noted by John Merbecke, organist at St. George's chapel at Windsor, a young man who during the Catholic reaction had been sentenced to death with three of his companions and was the only one to escape with his life. His *Booke* provided plain-song for the morning and evening prayers, the office of Holy Communion, and the burial services. The music was chiefly an adaptation of the Gregorian melodies to the English words of the *Venite, Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Gloria Patri, Pater Noster*, and so on. Cranmer wanted to banish figured music from the Church. Consequently Merbecke set only one note to a syllable, the result being much like the plain-chant that accompanied Cranmer's Litany in 1544.¹⁷ The volume was printed by Grafton in 1550. The Library has a beautiful copy in the original vellum binding.¹⁸)

The real leader — and symbol — of the Catholic opposition was Stephen Gardiner, imprisoned in the Tower since June 1548. Indeed, it was the Bishop of Winchester whom the Archbishop of Canterbury feared most. The antagonism of the two men went back many years. Gardiner was the chief instrument of the Catholic reaction during the last years of Henry VIII, and he spared no effort to destroy Cranmer and, with him, the reform movement. In 1543 he formally accused the Archbishop of treason by violating the Six Articles. But the King, who had encouraged Gardiner in his heresy hunt, appointed Cranmer to head the commission investigating himself. He needed both men, for, as James Gairdner writes, "it was Gardiner, who even under royal supremacy, was anxious to prove that England had



*Archbishop Cranmer
After Portrait Painted by Fliccius in 1546*

not fallen away from the faith, while Cranmer's authority as primate was necessary to upholding that supremacy."¹⁹ During the years of the Catholic reaction the hatred of the Reformers was thus concentrated upon the Bishop of Winchester.²⁰

The sweeping changes which signalized the beginning of the new reign alarmed Gardiner. Taking a strong stand against the destruction of images, he urged that the *King's Book* be retained during Edward's minority. Next he complained to Somerset about the flooding of the country with Protestant pamphlets; the Duke however took lightly the doings of "printers, players, and preachers."²¹ In Cranmer's own *Homilies* the Bishop found "the terrible speech" that faith alone justifies, even without good works. He was first advised acquiescence, but was finally summoned before the Council. Refusing to subscribe to all the articles laid before him, he was sent to the Fleet.²² Released through a general pardon, he tried to conform with the new statutes, acknowledging also the recent Order of the Holy Communion. But the showdown was inevitable. In June he was asked to preach before the King, with the instruction that he avoid the discussion of the sacraments. Gardiner, however, insisted that he "must and would utter the Catholic faith." He did so — and the following day was arrested again for his "willful disobedience." Committed to the Tower, he steadfastly repudiated the articles which would show his submission, begging again and again for "a trial by justice." The Government yielded, and on December 14, 1550, he was taken to Lambeth to be tried before a commission headed by Cranmer and including Bishops Ridley, Goodrich, and Holbeach as well as several lay judges.

The inquiry lasted for two months. In his defence Gardiner delivered to the court the manuscript of his *An Explication and Assertion of the true Catholique fayth, touching the moost blessed Sacrament of the aulter with Confutation of a booke written agaynst the same*. The book which the Bishop strove to confute was Cranmer's *Defence of the true and catholike Doctrine of the sacrament of the body and bloud of our Saviour Christ*, published only a few months before. The quotation from St. John on the title-page, "Yt ys the spirite that giveth lyfe, the fleshe profiteth nothinge," indicates the Archbishop's attitude toward the Lord's Supper; and indeed a large part of the volume was directed

against "the error of transubstantiation." Gardiner now wanted to prove that Cranmer himself violated the Prayer Book which, he insisted, upheld the old religion on all important points of doctrine, including the real presence, the adoration of the Sacrament, and the words of the administration of the Communion. "God of his infinite mercy have pity on us," he wrote, "and grant the true faith of his holy mystery uniformly to be conceived in our understandings, and in one form of words to be uttered and preached, which in the Book of Common Prayer is well-termed, not distant from the catholic faith in my judgement."²³ Nevertheless, after the hearing of many witnesses, the commission found that the Bishop still remained "more and more indurate, incorrigible, and without all hope of amendment."²⁴ Accordingly, he was sent back to the Tower and was deprived of his office.

Gardiner's charge could not be allowed to remain without a reply. Taking the *Explication* paragraph by paragraph, Cranmer composed *An Answer unto a crafty and sophisticall cauillation devised by Stephen Gardiner*, a folio of 459 pages, trying to vindicate his position on matters of dogma.²⁵ Yet Gardiner's book had its influence. The revision of the Book of Common Prayer was already started at the time of the trial,²⁶ and Gasquet and Bishop assert that "the particular form which the alterations took in the Communion office, the most important and vital part of the whole, was largely determined by Bishop Gardiner, or rather by the almost nervous antipathy which Cranmer had for him."²⁷ The claim, however, seems exaggerated, and it also contradicts some of the authors' earlier statements. In their account of the discussion on the Order of the Communion, Gasquet and Bishop rightly emphasized that by then the Archbishop of Canterbury "had already given up his belief in the mass as a sacrifice"²⁸; therefore, if Cranmer tended toward Zwinglianism by 1548, no "nervous antipathy" against Gardiner was required to move him in that direction in 1552. What is undoubtedly true is that, as a result of Gardiner's book and trial, Cranmer wanted to exclude even the possibility of a Catholic interpretation of the Prayer Book.²⁹

About two-thirds of Bucer's recommendations were accepted in the revision. But, as Procter remarks, "these alterations do

not seem to have resulted from Bucer's opinion, but rather to have been settled before [he was] even asked to give his judgment."³⁰ Such a view may be closest to the truth — and it also leaves room for Cranmer's own honest convictions.

IN the absence of authentic records, information about the revision of the Prayer Book may be gathered from the letters of some of the Reformers. Thus it is known that in December 1551 meetings were held by Cranmer, Holgate, Ridley, and several other bishops "to deliberate and consult about a proper moral discipline and the purity of doctrine." The new Act of Uniformity passed both Houses in the following April. It is a curious document in that it tried to give the impression that the new Prayer Book was in no way different from the first, which it called "a verie godlye ordre setforthe by auctorite of Parliament, to be used in the Mother tongue within the Church of Englande, agreeable to the worde of God and the Primatyve Church . . ."³¹ After complaining that "a greate nombre of People in diverse parts of this Realme followinge their owne sensualitye and lyvinge . . . doe wilfullye and dampnablye before Almyghtie God abstayne and refuse to come to their Parische Churches,"³² it makes church attendance from All Saints Day on compulsory, under pain of punishment. For the issuing of the new Prayer Book, the Act gives two reasons — the errors in the interpretations and the need of making the service more earnest. It states:

And because their hathe arrisen in the use and exercise of the foresaide common service in the Church heretofore setforthe, diverse doubts for the fasshion and manner of the mynistracion of the same, rather by the curiosite of the Mynistre and mystakers, then of anye other worthie cause; therefore aswell for the more playne and manyfeste explanacion herof as for the more perfeccion of the saide ordre of common service, in some places where it is necessarie to make the same Prayers and fasshion of service more earnest and fytted to stirre Christian people to the true honoring of Almighty God; the King's moste excellent majestie, with the assent of the Lordes and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by thauthoritie of the same hath caused the forsaide ordre of comon service, entytuled The Booke of Comon Prayer, to be faithfullye and godlye perused explained and made fullye perfecte . . .³³

"Perused, explained, and made fully perfect . . ." What alterations did the ingenious phrase cover? Canon Dixon thought that the work "differed from the First Book of Edward more than the First Book differed from the Use of Salisbury."³⁴ Gasquet and Bishop were, naturally, chiefly concerned with the changes in the Holy Communion, which "was not only the one all important traditional act of Christian worship, but was at this time throughout western Europe the central point round which all the controversies of the reformation turned."³⁵ Comparing the first with the second Communion office, they concluded that "whilst the former, in spite of the substantial changes which had been made in the ancient mass, manifested a general order and disposition of parts similar to the mass itself, the latter was changed beyond recognition."³⁶

One may realize best the difference in dogma by placing side by side the words of Administration. Those of the Prayer Book of 1549 read:

The body of our Lord Iesus Christ whiche was geuen for thee,
preserue thy bodye and soule unto euerlasting lyfe.

The bloud of our Lord Iesus Christe whiche was shed for thee,
preserue thy bodye and soule unto euerlastynge lyfe.

In the Prayer Book of 1552 these were changed to:

Take and eate this, in remembraunce that Christe died for the,
and fede on him in thy heart by faith, with thankes geuyng.

Drink this in remembraunce that Christes bloud was shed for
thee, and be thankfull.

From the title "The Supper of the Lorde, and the holy Communion, commonly called the Masse" the words "commonly called the Masse" were eliminated. "Lord's table" or "table" was substituted throughout for "alter." The rubric about the vestments ("a white Albe plain, with a vestement or Cope") was left out. The Introit at the beginning and the *Osanna, Benedictus*, and *Agnus Dei* afterwards were omitted, probably to discourage singing at the Communion. The Ten Commandments were inserted before the collects, with the *Kyrie eleison* utilized in response to each of them. The clause "whose kingdom shal have none ende" was restored to the Creed. The bread was no longer required to be "vnleauened and rounde"; rather it was stated that "it shall suffyse that the bread bee suche, as is vsuall to bee

eaten at the table with other meates." The gifts were to be provided by the curate and the church wardens, at the charge of the parish. The commemoration of the saints and the departed was abolished, and the prayer for the Church was removed from the Canon and added to what remained of the offertory. The exhortations came after the prayer for the Church, instead of after the sermon; *We do not presume* was moved back from its place after the Canon, to follow the *Sanctus*. The making of the sign of the cross in the Institution was suppressed, and the directions "Here the prieste must take the bread into his handes" and "Here the priest shall take the Cuppe into his handes" were left out. The Sacrament was to be delivered into the hand and not into the mouth of the communicant. It was now called "bread" and "cuppe," and not "the Sacrament of the body of Christ" and "the Sacrament of the bloud."

These were some of the most important alterations in the office of Holy Communion. There were many more in the other offices. The titles "Mattyns" and "Evensong" were changed to "Morninge" and "Evening" Prayer. A penitential introduction was prefixed to both. The Easter procession disappeared. *Who-soever wyll be saved* was to be said on thirteen days during the year instead of six. The rite of Baptism was to begin at the font, not at the church-door; the exorcism of the "vncleane spirite," the recitation of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, the benediction of the water, and the anointing were all abolished. The interrogations were to be addressed to the godfather and godmother rather than to the child. At Confirmation the Commandments, especially the first and the third, were expanded by an explanation of their purpose. There was a change even in the title of the volume. The title of the first Book ends ". . . ceremonies of the Church: after the vse of the Church of Eng-land," and that of the second, ". . . Ceremonies in the Church of Englande."³⁷

A famous feature of the second Prayer Book is the so-called "black rubric," relative to kneeling. The first Prayer Book was silent about the point, taking it perhaps for granted, since kneeling was the accustomed position during Communion through the ages; the second, however, definitely prescribed it in a special rubric, for in the interval an agitation sprang up against it

which Cranmer wanted to check. This is how the book went to press. Then it happened that about September 20, John Knox, the Scotch reformer whom the Earl of Warwick (now the Duke of Northumberland and, since Somerset's execution, without a rival) especially befriended, preached before the King attacking the practice. A few days later, the Council ordered Grafton to stay the publication, and Cranmer was requested to consider, with the Bishop of London and other learned men, whether it might not be better to leave out the rubric. Cranmer was indignant. "I shall accomplish the King's Majesty's commandment," he replied, "albeit I trust that we with just balance weighed this at the making of the Book . . ." And he angrily referred to those "glorious and unquiet spirits, which can like nothing but that is after their own fancy."³⁸ However, he finally accepted a compromise: the direction to kneel was retained, but a declaration was to be added stating that no adoration was involved in it. On October 27, four days before the new Prayer Book was to go into effect, the printer received the following statement to be inserted in the volume:

. . . Whereas it is ordeined in the booke of Common prayer, in the administracion of the Lordes Supper, that the Cummunicantes knelyng, should receiue the holy Communion, whiche thyng beyng well ment, for a significacion of the humble and gratefull acknowlegging of the benifites of Christe, giuen vnto the worthy receiuror, and to auoyde the prophanacion and disorder, which aboute the holy Communion might els ensue, lest yet thesame knelyng might be thought, or taken otherwise, we do declare that it is not ment thereby, that any adoracion is doen, or ought to be doen, either vnto the Sacramentall bread or wine, there bodily receiued, or vnto any reall and essenciall presence ther beyng, of Christes naturall fleshe and bloude. For as concernyng the Sacramentall bread and wine, thei remain still in their very naturall substaunces, and therfore maie not be adored, for that were Ydolatrie, to be abhorred of all faithfull Christians: and as concernyng the naturall body and bloud of our sauior Christ, thei are in heauen, and not here, for it is against the truthe of Christes true naturall body to be in mo places then in one, at one tyme.

This was indeed a weighty assertion. "The real importance of the Declaration consists," Lorimer comments, "not in the subject of which it speaks, but in the language which it uses in speaking of it . . . There is nothing in the whole English liturgy

which is, to say the least, more Protestant than the Declaration, a quality which has obtained for it the name of the Black Rubric. Even Knox's trumpet could not have blown a louder blast against the Roman Mass . . . and against the ubiquitarianism of Luther and the Lutherans."³⁹

Editions of the second Prayer Book were printed, simultaneously, by three printers — Whitchurche and Grafton of London, and Oswen of Worcester. Whitchurche issued three editions, each with the colophon "Imprinted at London in Flete-strete at the signe of the Sunne ouer agaynste the conduite," without any other date than 1552. Grafton produced two editions, each bearing the date of August 1552. Oswen had only one, without date. All of these editions include the Ordinal.⁴⁰

(The Library's copy belongs to the first edition issued by Whitchurche. The Act of Uniformity, occupying two leaves, follows the title-page; the "black rubric" is on a cancel leaf. A curious point of the copy is a woodcut of the Virgin in Glory, printed on the last leaf, and about three by four inches in size. The volume may be the one once owned by William Gott, Bishop of Truro and sold at auction in 1908 — the only copy on record to contain the woodcut. Its extreme rarity may be ascribed to the fact that the Reformers themselves destroyed such copies, thinking that the woodcut savored of Mariolatry. One may also mention here that the Library has acquired, from the Benton Fund, a copy of Francis Segar's (Seager) little volume containing a metrical English translation of nineteen psalms with musical notes.⁴¹)

THE five years' reign of Queen Mary is generally regarded as a vacuum in the history of the Book of Common Prayer. In a sense, it was really that; Edward's Prayer Book was suppressed, all the religious innovations were abolished, and England was placed again within the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. On the other hand, it was during this time that Puritanism was first organized as a party and that Anglicanism became conscious of its own national heritage.

Edward VI, that sickly child prodigy, died on July 6, 1553, at the age of fifteen years and eight months. After the nine-day

"rule" of Jane Grey, contrived by Warwick, Mary was proclaimed Queen and made her entrance into London amidst the rejoicings of the populace. Exchanging places with each other, the Catholic bishops were released and the Reformist bishops were imprisoned. Hundreds of Protestants fled to the Continent, and many more went into hiding in the country. One of the first acts of the new Parliament, convened in October shortly after the coronation, was the repeal of all the religious statutes passed since Henry's death, as containing "new thinges . . . suche as a few of singularite have of themselves devised." Enumerating them one by one, the Act declared that from December 20 on "everye Clause Sentence Braunche Article and Articles mentioned expressed or contened in the said Estatutes and in everye of them, shalbee from hensforthe utterly repelled voide adnichillate and of none effecte . . ." ⁴² About the same time, the Convocation of Canterbury revealed the temper of the extremists among the Catholic clergy. Hugh Weston, the new Dean of Westminster, denounced the Book of Common Prayer as "a blasphemous and erroneous book." The Assembly accepted two bills committing the clergy to the doctrines of the real presence and transubstantiation.

Yet Mary, at that time, wanted to proceed cautiously. The unsuccessful rising in Kent in January, attributed to her intended Spanish marriage, had undoubtedly a great deal to do with the subsequent change in her attitude toward the political and religious malcontents. ⁴³ Lady Jane was the first to be executed, and she was followed by Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Duke of Suffolk, and several of their kin. In July 1554 the Queen married Philip; and in November Cardinal Pole, after an absence of twenty-two years, arrived as the Pope's Ambassador. The Parliament was now tasked with the complete eradication of the Reformation. In December an enormously long statute was enacted "repealing all Statutes Articles and Provisions made against the See Apostolick of Rome since the XXth yere of King Henry theight . . ." However, the Lords and Commons had made it certain that the monastic lands would not have to be returned; the second half of the statute reads: ". . . and also for the establishment of all Spyrytuall and Ecclesiastical Possessions and Hereditamentes conveyed to the Layetye." ⁴⁴

Although many of the leading Reformers — Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and others — were in prison, there were no executions for reasons of religion during the first eighteen months of Mary's reign. Then the persecutions were ominously foreshadowed by the re-enactment of the statutes of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V "for the punishment of Heresies," scheduled to come into force on January 20, 1555.⁴⁵ John Rogers, burned alive on February 5, was the "proto-martyr"; a few days later Hooper and Taylor died a similar death. Ferrar went to the stake in March, and Ridley and Latimer in October. Cranmer, who recanted six times and then rallied himself to a dramatic affirmation of his faith, was burned at Oxford on March 21, 1556. The fury of the persecution took the greatest toll in the dioceses of London and Canterbury, and was increased by the appointment of special tribunals.⁴⁶ But the executions caused a deep revulsion in popular feeling. The crowds which once shouted for joy at the sight of the Queen became restive and then demonstrated their admiration for the dying men.⁴⁷ Historians agree that the terror, which continued till the last days of Mary and Cardinal Pole,⁴⁸ helped to establish the Reformation more firmly in the minds of the people than did all the legislation of Edward VI.⁴⁹

(The Library has recently acquired, through the income of the Benton Fund, three important Catholic works. The first is the 1497 edition of the *Sarum Missal*, a magnificent folio, printed by Martin Morin at Rouen and in contemporary binding. The Canon of the Mass is preceded by two full-page woodcuts, and there are three other woodcuts, each occupying the larger part of a page. One of several extant copies, this is the only copy in America.⁵⁰ The second work is a *Manual*, printed by J. Kingston and H. Sutton in 1554 in London. In the offices of baptism and matrimony, parts of the service are in English. There is one other copy in America.⁵¹ The third book is again a *Sarum Missal*, printed in 1555. It has two large woodcuts: the Jesse Tree on the title-page and the Crucifixion before the Canon of the Mass. The name of Thomas à Becket is restored in the Calendar.⁵² The Library has also a copy of the *Primer in Englishe and Latine*, printed in 1557.⁵³ Most of the old service books had been destroyed during Edward's reign, and therefore a new supply

was needed. Hoskins lists no less than 36 Horae and Primers issued in the five years.)

MEANWHILE the exiles found homes in such cities as Frankfort, Strassburg, Zurich, Emden, and Wesel, and later at Basel, Geneva, and Aarau. Among them were undoubtedly many political refugees, who escaped after Wyatt's rebellion,⁵⁴ but most of the leaders were distinguished Reformers, former deans and bishops — and future bishops and archbishops — men like Grindal, Sandys, and Pilkington. Those at Frankfort, arriving in June 1554, received permission from the magistracy to share the use of the Church of the White Ladies (*Weissfrauenkirche*) with the French congregation which had come earlier from Glastonbury. They numbered about sixty, the majority being inclined to Calvinism. In September they elected John Knox, then in Geneva, for their minister. There were dissensions, however, from the beginning, lasting in one form or another till the return to England. William Whittingham, one of the original group, who later became famous as the chief translator of the Geneva Bible, recorded them in a volume *A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554*, published in 1575, which is our main source of information about the events.⁵⁵ The refugees — like all refugees before and since — broke into factions which soon were bitterly fighting each other.

Most members of the Frankfort congregation opposed the Prayer Book, but the rest, aided by the Strassburg leaders, insisted on abiding by its "substance and effect." In the ensuing dispute Knox and his followers appealed to Calvin, who gave them support by criticizing the revisors for keeping "the leavings of popish dregs." On February 6, 1555, the parties accepted a compromise liturgy, to be used till the last of April. In early March, however, Richard Cox, former Dean of Westminster, arrived with his friends, and ignoring the agreement, announced that "they woulde do as they had done in Englande, and that they would have the face off an English church." ⁵⁶ The Elders wanted to keep out the newcomers, but Knox interceded for their admission. Strengthened by them, the Anglican minority

became the majority — and the first thing that the Coxians did was to turn out Knox from the ministry. They wanted to get rid of him altogether. To accomplish their end, they accused him before the magistrates of having committed, in his *An Admonition of Christians*,⁵⁷ high treason against the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Queen of England. Especially they called attention to Knox's statements that "Jesabel never erected so many gallows in all Israel, as mischievous Mary hath done within London alone"; that she was "an open Traitoress to the realm of England"; and that "under an English name, she beareth a Spaniard's heart." But what alarmed the authorities most was that Knox described Charles V as "no less enemy to Christ than was Nero." They certainly did not want to offend the Emperor, who just then was staying at Augsburg, by harboring a rebel. Knox was ordered to leave the city at once.⁵⁸

Cox and his fellows, left in authority of the church, sent a letter to Calvin, describing the concessions which they had made to their more radical brethren while retaining "the remainder of the Form of Prayer and of the Administration of the Sacraments" prescribed in the Prayer Book. Calvin, however, reproved them for their insistence on the ceremonies of England, and also thought that "Maister Knox was nether godly nor brotherly dealt withall."⁵⁹ On September 20, the Frankforters replied with a document which amounted to a real declaration of independence. Rome could not dictate to the Church of England, but neither could Geneva. After protesting their "entire veneration and love," the writers plainly told Calvin that his letter was "not a little annoying." Then they went on:

These friends of yours complain that "we are too precise in enforcing the English Ceremonies, and unreasonably partial to our own country." These, indeed, we pertinaciously retain, as knowing them to be very godly . . . We have abandoned some of them for the sake of your friends, which might at that time have been piously adopted. But we make this concession to the love of our country; to which, forsooth, we are too much inclined. These, your friends, however, are altogether a disgrace to their country; for whatever has been bestowed from Above upon our country, in this respect, with exceeding arrogance, not to say impudence, they are treading under foot. You must know, that we do not entertain any regard for our country which is not agreeable to God's holy word. Neither, in the mean while, are we so ungrateful to our country, nor have

we cast off every feeling of humanity, as rashly to despise the benefits which God has bestowed upon it . . .⁶⁰

They did not deny their action against Knox but — curious mentality of *émigrés*! — tried to justify it by stating that his book contained “atrocious and horrible calumnies against the Queen of England: whom Knox called at one time ‘the wicked Mary’; at another time, ‘a monster’”; and that “he exasperated King Philip also, by language not much less violent.” They ended their epistle:

This we can assure you, that that outrageous pamphlet of Knox’s added much oil to the flame of Persecution in England. For, before the publication of that book, not one of our brethren had suffered death; but, as soon as it came forth, we doubt not but that you are well aware of the number of excellent men who have perished in the flames; to say nothing of all their property, and even life itself, upon the sole ground of either having had this book in their possession, or of having read it . . .⁶¹

The liturgy which Knox and his committee prepared at Frankfort was largely identical with Calvin’s Order of Geneva. Upon his return to the Swiss city, the service was adopted by his followers. It was printed by Jean Crespin under the title *The Forme of Prayers and Ministrations of the Sacraments . . . used in the English Congregation at Geneva*. In 1556 the same printer issued a Latin translation as *Ratio et Forma publice orandi deum . . . in Anglorum Ecclesiam*.⁶² The work had a great influence on the history of Puritanism. “Though it never received any sanction in England,” Lorimer writes, “it continued throughout the whole of the long reign of Elizabeth to be regarded by the English Presbyterian Puritans as a book of standard authority in doctrine, worship, and discipline.”⁶³

The life of the English church at Frankfort, although now purely Anglican, was anything but smooth. Cox left for Strassburg; and Robert Horne, former Dean of Durham, was elected pastor and Richard Chambers, once a wealthy merchant in London, became deacon. The two men, as members were soon to feel, exercised “a most unworthy lordship over the poor.” Horne was tyrannical, and Chambers, who handled the donations, was arbitrary in the distribution of funds. Their behavior gave rise to violent accusations. Finally, in a meeting in Febru-

ary 1557 the Congregation declared that "the Church was above the Pastor, and not the Pastor above the Church,"⁶⁴ and demanded the amending of their Discipline. Interestingly enough, it was David Whitehead, the former pastor variously styled "Bishop" and "Superintendent," who acted as the spokesman of the discontented. After long wrangling, the majority accepted a new Discipline, consisting of seventy-three articles, some of which introduced fundamental changes in church government. Here are a few:

The Congregation assembled is a particular visible Church, such as may be in diverse places very many; and all these particular churches joined together . . . by the conjunction of true doctrine and faith, do make one whole Church in this world.⁶⁵

The Ministers and Seniors shall have no authority to make any manner of Decrees and Ordinances to bind the Congregation, or any member thereof; but shall execute such Ordinances and Decrees as shall be made by the Congregation, and to them delivered.⁶⁶

If any dissension shall happen between the Ministers and the Seniors and the Body of the Congregation, and the said Ministers and Seniors . . . will not assemble the Congregation: then the Congregation may, of itself, come together and consult and determine as concerning the controversy or controversies . . .⁶⁷

Thus out of the relief problems of "poor banished Englishmen," at Frankfort, Congregationalism was born.⁶⁸

THE news of the accession of Queen Elizabeth filled the exiles with joy. The English church at Geneva was not behind the rest in its expectations.⁶⁹ Knox and his followers felt it desirable that the refugees should effect "an unfeigned conciliation" before their return to England; they proposed therefore "a brotherly conference," so that they might "join hands and hearts together" and not contend against one another "for superfluous Ceremonies, or other like trifles."⁷⁰ The reply of the Frankforters was rather cool, stating that the question of ceremonies would be in the "wisdoms" of such men as shall be appointed for their devising, and in the common consent of Parliament.⁷¹

By the new year, most of the exiles were back in England, where the religious prisoners were meanwhile released and several of the Catholic clergy arrested. In pursuance of a royal

proclamation, the old services and ceremonies were to be maintained until the meeting of Parliament, but the Gospels, Epistles, the Ten Commandments, the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed were allowed in English.⁷² Parliament convened in January and by the end of February the Act of Supremacy was passed, "restoring to the Crowne thauncyent Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiasticall and Spirituall, and abolyshing all Forreine Power repugnaunt to the same."⁷³ Since there were doubts about the appropriateness of calling a woman "the Supreme Head" of the Church, the Queen was named "thonely supreme Governour of the Realme."

The other basic statute, passed in April, was the Act of Uniformity for "Common Prayoure and Dyvyne Service in the Church, and the Administration of the Sacraments."⁷⁴ Even the most moderate among the exiles were in advance of Edward's second Prayer Book; to their dismay, they found however that Elizabeth thought the second Prayer Book too radical. The revision was undertaken by Matthew Parker, already slated to be Archbishop of Canterbury; by Grindal, Cox, Pilkington, and Guest, soon to be consecrated as Bishops, respectively, of London, Ely, Durham, and Rochester; and by other divines, meeting in the house of Sir Thomas Smith. Guest, who in Parker's frequent absences took a leading part in the discussions, received instructions from Cecil, the Queen's Secretary, "diligently to compare both King Edward's communion books together, and from them both to frame a book for the use of the church of England, by correcting and amending, altering and adding, or taking away, according to his judgment and the ancient liturgies."⁷⁵ The revisors remonstrated with the Queen on many points, but in the end her wishes prevailed. The Act declared that Edward's Book had been repealed "to the greate Decaye of the due Honour of God and discomforte to the Professoures of the Truthe of Christes Religion," and that therefore from and on the Feast and Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24) the said book was to be restored — but "withe Thalteracion and Addicions therein added and appointed by this Estatute." The next paragraph specified these changes, the most important being the addition of "twoo Sentences onelye" in the delivery of the Sacrament. They were the words of Ad-

ministration of 1549, which were to be prefixed to those of 1552. The form in the new Prayer Book read:

The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was geuen for thee, preserue thy body and soule into euerlasting life: and take and eate this, in remembraunce that Christ died for thee, and feede on hym in thy hearte by faythe, wyth thankes geuyng.

The bloud of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserue thy body and soule into euerlasting life: and drynke this in remembraunce that Christes bloud was shed for thee, and be thankefull.

Thus, by combining the two earlier rites, the new Prayer Book brought back the doctrine of a real presence, while interpreting it in a spiritual sense. This is the form that is in use today — in the question of dogma, the Elizabethan settlement has proved final.

In the same spirit, the Litany was "corrected" by the omission of the phrase "from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities . . ." In the matter of church ornaments and vestments, the Queen was even more conservative; she preferred to go back to those used in the second year of Edward's reign. Further, the Act authorized her "to ordeyne and publishe suche farther Ceremonies or Rites as maye bee most for thadvancement of Goddes glorye."⁷⁶ There were also other alterations not mentioned in the Act: the rubric on kneeling was left out altogether; the morning and evening prayers were to be used "in the accustomed place" of the church instead of "in such place as the people may best hear"; a collect was omitted and another moved, and so on.

In the House of Lords the prelates, led by Archbishop Heath of York and Bishop Scot of Chester, vehemently opposed the Act, with the result that several of them were sent to the Tower. To the Convocation, which was held concurrently with the meetings of Parliament, the Book was not submitted at all. Yet the adoption of the new Prayer Book did not cause any appreciable excitement in the country; out of a clergy of nine thousand members, less than two hundred were deprived of office.⁷⁷

The Queen was equally firm towards Roman Catholics and Protestant zealots. Even good Anglicans felt it desirable to declare to her that they had not become "subtle sectaries."⁷⁸ As to

the Puritans, Elizabeth detested them to the end of her reign. Knox was not allowed to come before her presence, Goodman was forced into hiding, Foxe was left without any position, and even Coverdale was not restored to the Bishopric of Exeter. Not daring openly to reject the new Prayer Book, they started a process of nullification, observing some parts of it and ignoring others. The struggle was on, culminating a hundred years later in the Puritan Commonwealth.

Two editions of the Prayer Book were published in 1559, one by Jugge and Cawood and the other by Grafton. The title-page of the first is embellished by the same border that was used by Whitchurche in the first Prayer Book: the compartment at the top encloses the royal arms and the one below, the arms of Catherine Parr. Only the initials E. W., standing for Edward Whitchurche, are omitted.⁷⁹ The border on the title-page of Grafton's edition is identical with the one used in his edition of the first Prayer Book: the King in Council above, and the printer's mark, supported by two cherubs, below.⁸⁰ First-edition copies of the Prayer Book of 1559 are extremely rare, even more so than those of the Edwardian Prayer Books, although the destruction of the latter was ordered by Queen Mary.

(The Library has recently acquired, from the Benton Fund, a perfect copy of the edition produced by Jugge and Cawood. It once belonged to Lord Aldenham, whose book-plate it bears.)

(This is the second of a series of four articles on the history of the Book of Common Prayer, begun in the October 1949 issue. The third article will appear in the next number.)

Notes

1. Frances Rose-Troup, *The Western Rebellion of 1549*, London 1913, 126. Miss Troup's book, based on original sources, is the most comprehensive account of the uprising in Cornwall and Devonshire.

2. "The only trace of actual sympathy with the aims of the Western men," Miss Troup writes, "appears to have been in the Buckingham and Oxfordshire risings of the same summer . . . and also in an insignificant movement in Winchester, which came to nothing." *Op. cit.*, 407.

3. June 11, 1549. Nicholas Pollock, *Troubles Connected with the Prayer Book of 1549*. 1884, 2.

4. Canon Dixon tells the story of the agrarian revolution in detail in his *History of the Church of England*, II, 505-12, III, 43-95. Gasquet and Bishop stress the religious side of the uprising, at the expense of the social. "Although it was only in Devon and Cornwall," they write, "that the commons formulated their demands for the restoration of the ancient rites, and elsewhere a variety of causes contributed to the disaffection, still throughout the country the changes in religion were a real factor in the alienation of the people from the ruling powers." *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, 1891, 252. See also W. J. Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, New York 1893, II, 259-89.

5. *Works*, 1846, II, 192, 196.

6. Quoted by A. F. Pollard in *The Cambridge Modern History*, II, 498.

7. *Op. cit.*, III, 250, 547.

8. A good summary of Bucer's *Censura*, first printed in his *Scripta Anglicana* in 1577, is given by Procter in *A History of the Book of Common Prayer*, 1880, 43-6, as also by Canon Brightman in *The English Rite*, 1915, I, cxliii-iv.

9. Sir John Cheke, professor of Greek at Cambridge, was the tutor of Edward VI. His Latin translation was printed in Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*, Basel 1577.

The first complete Latin version of the Prayer Book of 1549 was made by Alexander Alesius, or Aless, a Scotchman who had previously translated the Order of the Communion into Latin. His *Ordinatio Ecclesiae, seu Ministerii Ecclesiastici in Regno Angliae*, undertaken at Cranmer's request, was published in January 1551 at Leipzig, where he was then teaching. This Latin version was to serve foreign theologians and also the scholars at Oxford and Cambridge. (The first Act of Uniformity made it lawful for anyone who understood Greek, Latin, Hebrew, or any other language to say his morning and evening prayers in Latin or other tongues; and, "for the further encouraging of learnynge in the tongues," the permission was specially granted to the Universities, except for the Holy Communion.) Aless's translation contains many variations from the original, due partly to carelessness, and partly to willful changes and interpolations. (Procter, *op. cit.*, 67-70.) The volume is extremely rare. The Library has an excellent copy.

10. Procter, *op. cit.*, 50-52; Brightman, *op. cit.*, I, cxlvii-viii. There is some uncertainty about the place and date of the publication of this directory of worship, entitled *Forma ac ratio tota ecclesiastici Ministerii*. According to Bru-

net's *Manuel*, it was printed at Emden in 1556; however, Brightman is probably correct in stating that it was published in 1551 and reprinted at Frankfurt in 1555.

The *Brevis et dilucida de Sacramentis Ecclesiae Christi Tractatio* was printed by Stephen Myerdmán in London in 1552. It includes, with a separate title-page, the *Zurich Consensus*, the joint confession of faith of Calvin and Bullinger, the successor of Zwingli. A Lasco heartily approved of the agreement. Peter Lorimer in his *John Knox and the Church of England*, London 1875, writes: "The book is now very rare, but a copy of it exists in the Grenville Library, British Museum. It appeared at the critical time when the first Prayer Book of Edward was undergoing revision, and it must have contributed much to prepare the minds of the Church's rulers for the changes which were soon after introduced into the Communion office . . ." (P. 139.) Lorimer also points out passages in Knox's memorial to the Council about kneeling (*see below*) which were evidently borrowed from à Lasco's *Tractatio*. The sermons of Roger Hutchinson, the provost of Eton College, and of Thomas Becon, Cranmer's chaplain, further show the influence of the *Brevis . . . Tractatio*. (Lorimer, *op. cit.*, 281-89.) Curiously, Canon Brightman does not mention the book. The Library has a very fine copy.

11. Edward Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, 1839, I, 63-4.

12. Cardwell, *op. cit.*, I, 65-6.

13. *Greyfriars' Chronicle*, 62. Quoted by Gasquet and Bishop, *op. cit.*, 244.

14. Cardwell, *op. cit.*, 70.

15. *Ibid.*, 74.

16. *The Statutes of the Realm*, IV, 110. Quoted in the first part of this study. (*The B.P.L. Quarterly*, October 1949, 100.)

17. The Archbishop had decided views about the subject. Preparing the translation of some new processions, he wrote to the King on October 7, 1544: "If your Grace command some devout and solemn note to be made thereunto . . . I trust it will much excitate and stir the hearts of all men unto devotion and godliness: but in mine opinion, the song that shall be made thereunto would not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, for every syllable a note." (*Works*, II, 412.) This was evidently the instruction which Merbecke received, and followed. He did his work well: his music is the basis of the plain-song used in Anglican churches to the present day.

18. Edmund H. Fellowes, the editor of the recent partial reprint *The Office of the Holy Communion as Set by John Merbecke*, Oxford 1949, states that, for certain details, he has consulted "all the fourteen known original exemplars." (P. 6.) The writer apparently overlooked the Library's copy — one of the two copies in America. (The volume once belonged to Bishop Gott, whose bookplate it bears.)

One may also mention here that the Library has a copy of the *Concordance* to the English Bible — the first of its kind — which Merbecke began to prepare about 1542 and which almost brought him to the stake as a heretic. "What a devil made thee meddle with the Scriptures? Thy vocation was another way . . .," Bishop Gardiner scolded the young musician, whose life however he helped to save. The manuscript was destroyed, but after Henry's death Merbecke began the work anew. The *Concordance*, now very rare, was printed in a large folio by Grafton in 1550.

19. Article on Gardiner in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition.

20. The Library has first-edition copies of a number of the books attacking Gardiner. In his *The huntyng and fyndyng out of the Romyshe foxe*, printed according to the colophon "at Basyll," William Turner, the physician and herbalist, singled out "Steven master" as "priapus and keper of the popes garden." Gardiner made a reply, whereupon Turner in his *The Rescuyinge of the Romishe fox*, published at Winchester in 1545, castigated him directly. Reprinting short passages from the Bishop's book, he answered them one by one. George Joye, whom Gardiner erroneously believed to be the author of a pamphlet against him, accepted the challenge. "What speke I to you," he asked in *The Refutation of the byshop of Winchesters derke declaration of his false articles*, issued in 1546, "that yet wil not knowe the gospel from heresye but be so blyndened with blod and mischif that moste blasphemously ye call gods holy worde heresye and the popis antichristn doctryne ye call christis gospel." The Bishop's *A Detection of the Devils Sophistrie*, published in London in 1546, elicited Anthony Gilby's *An answer to the deuillish detection of Stephane Gardiner*. "You wyll ever be inventynge newe mattiers to occupie mens mindes in contencion," the writer accused the Bishop, "and to affraye simple soules from the scriptures. And because you will maintayne all poperie you can fynde faute with nothyng that the pope hath invented . . ." (The Library's copies of these works do not belong to the Benton Collection.)

For a list of books by and against Stephen Gardiner see James Arthur Muller, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction*, New York, 1926, 306-17.

21. Gardiner's addresses to the Protector and the latter's replies are printed in John Fox's *Ecclesiastical History*, London 1641, II, 712-21.

22. Fox, *op. cit.*, II, 726-36.

23. *The Works of Thomas Cranmer*, 1844, I, 92.

24. Fox, *op. cit.*, II, 739.

25. The volume was printed by Reynolde Wolfe in London in 1551. The Library's copy does not belong to the Benton Collection.

26. Letter of John ab Ulms to Bullinger, January 10, 1552. Strype wrote: "The revising, perusing, explaining, and finishing the Book of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments had been committed to the Archbishop and certain other learned divines, whereof Dr. Cox was one, who being met together at Windsor, diligently, as their scope was, reformed the Book according to the word of God." *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, II, pt. ii, 20.

27. *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, London 1891, 277.

28. *Op. cit.*, 129. See also p. 86: "... the answer of the Archbishop to the interrogatory as to the nature of the mass is that the 'oblation and sacrifice' of Christ in the mass are terms improperly used, and that it is only a 'memory and representation' of the sacrifice of the cross." And further pp. 130-32, pointing out Cranmer's "Helvetian views" in his translation of Justus Jonas's Catechism, or rather in his omissions of certain lines concerning the real presence.

29. The changes made in the 1552 Prayer Book under Gardiner's influence are well summarized by M. W. Patterson, *A History of the Church of England*, London 1914, 246. Dom Gregory Dix discusses them at great length in *The Shape of the Liturgy*, Westminster 1947, 658-70. See also Cyril C. Richardson, *Zwingli and Cranmer on the Eucharist*, Evanston 1949. Professor Richardson maintains (chiefly against Dom Gregory) that Cranmer's Eucharistic thought "moved within the basic framework of Zwingli's opinions," yet "he is dis-

tinguished from the Zurich reformer in esteeming the Lord's Supper more lightly and in emphasizing that its faithful observance is accompanied by the operation of God's grace." (P. 48.)

30. Procter, *op. cit.*, 46. (The passage was omitted by Bishop Frere in his revision of Procter's book.)

31. *The Statutes of the Realm*, IV, 130.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Op. cit.*, III, 474.

35. *Op. cit.*, 288.

36. *Ibid.*

37. An admirable summary of the changes effected in the revision is given by Brightman, *op. cit.*, cli-lxv. (It is with reluctance that one notes a small oversight on p. clii: the word "alter" did not have to be expunged from the third rubric of the office of the Communion in the Prayer Book of 1549 — this already had "the lordes table.")

38. Quoted by Lorimer, *op. cit.*, 103-4.

39. *Op. cit.*, 132. And continuing: "Thus it strangely came to pass that upon a peg so small as a point of ceremony or religious posture there was hung a declaration against the Sacramental theory of the whole unreformed Church of the West, and, almost in the same breath, against the favorite theory of the Mother Church of the Continental Reformation itself."

40. A French translation of the First Prayer Book was made for the use of the King's subjects in Calais and the Channel Islands. No copy of this work, supposedly printed by Thomas Gaultier in 1551, exists. After the appearance of the Second Prayer Book, a new French translation was prepared by François Philippe, who calls himself "seruiteur de Monsieur le grand Chancelier d'Angleterre," meaning Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely. Gaultier printed the book, with the date 1553 on the title-page. The Library has a beautiful copy.

41. *STC*, 2728. *Certaine Psalmes select out of the Psalter of David, and drawen into Englyshe Metre, wyth Notes to euery Psalme in iiii parts to Synge*, by F. S., printed by William Seres in London. The book is dedicated to Lord Rusel, and is subscribed "Your lordeshypps humble orator, Francys Seagar . . ." The psalms are followed by a long poem, in the same metre, entitled "A Discription of the lyfe of man, the worlde, and vanities thereof."

42. *The Statutes of the Realm*, IV, 202.

43. Christine H. Garrett in *The Marian Exiles*, Cambridge, Univ. Press 1938, insists that "the Protestants were choosing to break the religious truce." In the six weeks between August 6, when Rogers preached against "pestilent popery," and September 15, when à Lasco's congregation left the country, "the extremists of the faction seized the initiative and deliberately forced the Protestant issue upon a government that would gladly have held it in abeyance." (Pp. 45-6.) However, Miss Garrett, who has done invaluable research in compiling a census of the exiles, has a somewhat fanciful thesis to prove: namely, that the exodus was "a directed migration" — "an experiment in religious colonization" — conceived by Sir William Cecil.

44. *The Statutes of the Realm*, IV, 246-54.

45. *Ibid.*, 244.

46. Dixon, *op. cit.*, 484-5, 602-3; 571-4.

47. "The hatred of her subjects followed her in her chambers with lampons and ballads." *Ibid.*, 570.

48. Mary and Pole died on the same day: November 17, 1558.

49. "Without the purgation of suffering," Canon Dixon writes, "the English Reformation would have appeared as contemptible a revolution as ever alleged for itself the public good. The persecution set in view the great principles that lay in the Reformation, such as reasonableness in religion, things to be allowed indifferent, enforced customs like priestly celibacy to be left free, the papal primacy only political . . ." (*Op. cit.*, IV, 732.)

50. *Short-Title Catalogue*, 16171; Weale-Bohatta, 1392. The copy is imperfect, lacking 26 leaves. Contemporary notes on the back fly-leaf record the birth of Thomas Cornwalers, first son of Edward Cornwalers, on December 5, 1529, as also the births of Thomas's two sons, Robert and Thomas, in 1561 and 1566. The elder Thomas was evidently an adherent of the old religion, who did not deliver the volume when ordered to do so by the statute of 1550. The Cornwalers were the ancestors of Lord Cornwallis, the British general beaten at Yorktown.

51. *STC*, 16152. The border on the title-page is described in McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders*, No. 38, p. 42.

52. *STC*, 16218. There are six lines of verse on the title-page, under the woodcut, recommending to priests to buy the book.

53. *STC*, 16081; Edgard Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis . . . and Primers of the Reformed Use*, London 1901, no. 233. The fly-leaves of the copy are covered with sixteenth-century writings — all doggerel. An example: "As fortune maye be my ffrynd so ffollye maye be my foe. But I do not intend to trye howe . . . the game shall goe."

54. Miss Garrett especially emphasizes the aristocratic character of the emigration; according to her findings, country gentlemen constituted the largest single group among the exiles. (*Op. cit.*, 42.) The truth is that Reformation and Rebellion were inextricably interwoven in many cases. The Government regarded both as "sedition." Thus Gardiner called Wyatt's uprising "a religious rebellion, promoted by men who despised the Sacraments." (Dixon, *op. cit.*, 164.)

55. The volume is extremely rare. The Library has a copy, as well as one of the second edition of 1642. Edward Arber published a reprint in 1908.

56. *A Brieff discours*, xxxviii verso, (Arber, *Troubles at Frankfort*, 54.)

57. *A faithful Admonition made by John Knox unto the Professors of God's Truth in England*, "Imprinted at Kalekow, July 20, 1550."

58. *Troubles at Frankfort*, 67-8. Knox's account of his banishment from Frankfort is from David Calderwood's Manuscript History, now in the British Museum.

59. *A Brieff discours*, li. (*Troubles at Frankfort*, 78.)

60. *Troubles at Frankfort*, 88. Taken from the *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, 1846-7.

61. *Ibid.*, 91-92.

62. The Library has a fine copy.

63. *Op. cit.*, 212.

64. *Troubles at Frankfort*, 113.

65. Article 2. *Ibid.*, 150.

66. Article 38. *Ibid.*, 185.

67. Article 44. *Ibid.*, 187-8.

68. "The historie of that sturre and strife which was in the Engleshe

church at Franckford from the 13 daie off Jan. Anno Domino 1557 forward" occupies the larger part of *A Brieff discours*, extending from p. lxii to p. clxxxi. (*Troubles at Frankfort*, 97-215.) Whittingham left Frankfort for Geneva at the end of 1556; therefore, he could not speak from personal observation. "This controuersie which you haue now harde," he wrote, "I finde written by the handes of such as are bothe lerned and off credit, but yet, I muste nedes say, by those that were parties in this broyle." (*Op. cit.*, clxxxi.) Also, Daniel Neal, *The History of the Puritans*, Vol. I, ch. 3.; Dixon, *op. cit.*, IV, 684-99; M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism*, Chicago 1939, 149-62.

69. *Troubles at Frankfort*, 223.

70. Letter of December 15, 1558. Coverdale, Whittingham, and Goodman were among the signers. *Ibid.*, 224.

71. Letter of January 3, 1559. The signers included Pilkington, Henry Knollys, and Alexander Nowell. The letter also states that there were only four persons left at Frankfort who had been there at the time of the controversy of 1555, and that only one, Master Beesley was "of the learned sort." *Ibid.*, 225-6.

72. John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, Oxford 1824, I, pt. ii, 391-2; Dixon, *op. cit.*, V, 14.

73. *The Statutes of the Realm*, V, 350-55.

74. *Ibid.*, 355-58.

75. Strype, *Annals*, I, pt. i, 120.

76. *Statutes of the Realm*, IV, 358.

77. The story of the revision of the Prayer Book in the first year of Elizabeth's reign is told by Edward Cardwell, *History of Conferences*, Oxford 1849, 18-41, giving also the documents connected with the revision, 42-120.

78. The Declaration was drawn up by Dr. Sandys and other divines in April 1559. (Strype, *Annals*, I, 166-73.) The motives of the religious policy of Elizabeth, and of Secretary Cecil, are well presented by W. K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England*, Cambridge 1932, 82-99. "Every religious action," the author writes, "was viewed and tested in the light of its relation to the security and well-being of the state."

79. McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders*, No. 68, p. 73.

80. *Ibid.*, No. 67, p. 71.

Letters by the Earl of Athlone, 1691-1703

By RUTH EMERY

THE letters of the Earl of Athlone, Dutch General of William III and second in command to Marlborough in the Continental wars of the early eighteenth century, have received little notice from historians, although many of them are official documents and full of significant material. The most important, as part of the Blathwayt Collection, were not readily available from 1704, when William Blathwayt, Secretary of State and War, retired from office, to 1908, when the Collection was first offered for sale.* And there is a linguistic difficulty. The General never mastered the English language and most government clerks could not read Dutch; so the communications to Whitehall were written in faulty, phonetic French and in an almost undecipherable handwriting.

The Boston Public Library has recently purchased a group of some twenty letters written by the Earl of Athlone between 1691 and 1703. Nearly all were addressed to William Bladneyd, a clerk in the State and War Office, who presented the Earl's petitions to Parliament and directed his correspondence to the proper quarters.**

The letters not only confirm the generally known facts but give a subjective view heretofore unnoticed. Historians have treated at length the quarrel of William III and the English Parliament in 1699 when, in a wave of anti-royalist and anti-foreign feeling, the King's grants to his Dutch followers were nullified. Accounts usually describe the hostile speeches in the Commons and the angry behavior of the King. Little has been said, however, about the inconvenience and humiliation of the Dutchmen concerned in the controversy. The Library's letters

*About a hundred of the Blathwayt letters, those written by Robert Yard, a clerk in the War Office in London, were acquired by the Library two years ago. The present writer discussed them in some detail in the January and February 1948 issues of *More Books*.

**A transcription and English translation prepared for the Library by Madame Helen Cowell Bailly make them immediately useful to scholars. Madame Bailly is on the faculty of Lasell Junior College.

give moving evidence of their feelings in the General's repeated reminders to the Secretary of State of his services to England and the hardship which the forfeiture of his estates had caused him.

Much has been written, too, of the divided loyalties after the Glorious Revolution. Political expediency had seemed to require that the autocratic and Catholic James II be expelled and a sovereign who would respect the rights of Parliament and the Protestant preferences of England be brought in. Most people undoubtedly felt relieved when James's daughter Mary and her Dutch husband William accepted the throne on these conditions and ascended it without bloodshed. But sympathy for the King-in-exile still lingered, and there was also a natural antagonism to the new King's Dutch interests and friends. Jacobite sentiment flourished particularly in the armed services, where many of the officers were appointees of James. On one occasion when the English Navy prepared to meet the French fleet, there was some doubt as to whether it would fight for or against the new sovereigns. The Library's letters show what this situation meant to a contemporary, an officer in command of mutinous soldiers, one responsible for the success of a campaign, yet without assurance of enough troops or supplies needed for victory.

Perhaps the dominant impression which the letters leave is that of the personality of Athlone himself. The patience of his many petitions for what was unquestionably his right in the Irish forfeitures, the generosity of his solicitations for others, and his tolerance and understanding of the factious behavior of the English Parliament cannot help arousing one's admiration. He was one who knew how to take reverses without bitterness in either personal or military affairs — as was proven by his ungrudging support of Marlborough as Commander-in-Chief of the allied forces, a position to which he had aspired.

THE Earl, then known by his Dutch title of Baron Godard van Reede-Ginckel, was forty-four years old and had long been in the King's service when in 1688 he accompanied William to England. A member of a noble family, he had begun his military career in the cavalry at the age of fourteen. At the time of

the Revolution he held the rank of lieutenant-general and was one of William's most trusted officers.

The King's confidence in his countryman is revealed by the assignments which he gave him. Soon after the accession, a battalion of Royal Scots mutinied against foreign service. The situation called for extraordinary tact, for national pride was involved; William had accepted the throne without consulting the Parliament of Scotland and had given command of Scottish troops to a foreign officer, the Duke of Schomberg. Jacobite leaders had no difficulty in persuading the battalion to mutiny at Ipswich, en route to the port of embarkation, and to turn back to Scotland. The mutiny had to be suppressed; yet the loyalty of the men had to be won. Athlone was ordered to pursue the mutineers. He surrounded them in a marsh at Sleaford, and captured them with few casualties. Brought back to London, they were shown a clemency that won most of them over to the new sovereign. Even the lives of the leaders were spared.

In the Irish campaign of 1690, the Dutch General commanded the cavalry in the battle of the Boyne and after that decisive victory was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Dutch-English army in Ireland, to complete the conquest of the Jacobite forces there. After a desperate winter, in which the poorly provisioned English troops pillaged the country, the towns of Athlone, Galway, and Limerick were besieged and taken. The General's return to London resembled a triumphal march. A grateful House of Commons petitioned the King to reward him for his services. Consequently, the titles Baron of Aghrim and Earl of Athlone as well as some of the confiscated estates around Limerick were bestowed upon him.

Passing almost immediately from the Irish campaign to the fighting against the French on the Continent, the General took part in many of the crucial engagements of the War of the League of Augsburg.

When, after a brief interval of peace (1697-1701), Louis XIV made another attempt to dominate Europe in the War of the Spanish Succession, Athlone was considered for the place of Commander-in-Chief of the allied forces. The Dutch felt that they were the natural leaders of the coalition. Holland had been the unwavering foe of France when England had been half-

hearted; she also had more to lose from a French victory. As long as William III lived, his leadership was unquestioned, for he was doubly qualified by his Dutch origin and record in the wars against France and by his position as King of England. On the eve of the war, however, and just as the coalition was in process of formation, he died. Queen Anne, his successor, pledged England's continued support of the alliance, requesting at the same time that William's place as war leader be given to the Prince Consort, George of Denmark. Only a devoted wife could have imagined that the Prince had any qualifications for the office. Marlborough, who was commissioned by the Queen to make the proposal, certainly knew how absurd it was, though his urbanity concealed his feelings. Opposition in the War Council was so determined that Anne yielded and named as her next choice Marlborough himself.

Athlone's supporters urged his claims as the Englishman's senior in years and service, and as chief military leader of the Dutch. It would have been highly impolitic to offend Anne, however, for England's contribution of men and money was essential to the prosecution of the war. Moreover, Marlborough was the real choice of many, since his military genius had been demonstrated during William's last years. It was Marlborough, therefore, who was named Commander-in-Chief, and Athlone was made second in command.

In some ways, the two men were the antithesis of each other. Marlborough was daring by temperament, Athlone was cautious; Marlborough won by aggressive tactics, Athlone by defensive. The former preferred decisive engagements in the field, while the latter used siege when possible. The English commander later complained that opportunities were lost because of the Dutch general's unwillingness to take a chance. Athlone admitted that he had often opposed Marlborough's plans and that invariably time had proved him wrong.

In the early stages of the War of the Spanish Succession, Athlone outmaneuvered the French at Nimwegen and prevented the invasion of the Dutch Republic. But he was not destined to participate in the whole campaign and in the victory at Blenheim. In February 1703, in his sixtieth year, he suffered a stroke and died at his home at Utrecht a few days later.

THE first of the letters in the Library concerns the title which the King proposed to bestow on the General for his services in Ireland. It seemed fitting that the name should refer to some of the victories of the campaigns, but investigations had to be made to determine whether these titles were not already among those of Irish peerage. An unsigned report, dated January 1692 and addressed to Lord Nottingham, Secretary of State, gives information on the subject. Probably written by a clerk who had been assigned to do the research, it reads:

My Lord, Upon all enquiry that is possible in so short a time, it appears that Aghrim was never yett in any Title; it is a large and considerable Mannor that belongs to his Grace the Duke of Ormond. It was near a mile from this place that the battel turn'd against the Irish . . . Athlone was given in title to the late Earle of Rochester's father of which he was Viscount so y^t. unless it has been taken up since the late Earle's death by some other Peer of Ireland it still remains void. The title of Earle of Lymerick was given as is presumed to the Lord Dungan since the abdication.

The report was in error in stating that his title was given to Lord Dungan after the abdication. It had been conferred by James in 1685 and was allowed the Dungan family until it should become dormant by the death of Col. Thomas Dongan (as he spelled his name), Royal Governor of New York. The pertinent fact had been established, however, namely that Limerick, the greatest victory of the campaign, could not be included in the Dutch commander's title, since the Dungan family had a prior claim. The names of Aghrim and Athlone, two other places where Van Ginckel had distinguished himself, were available. The title finally decided upon was Baron of Aghrim and Earl of Athlone.

The substantial gift of 26,480 acres of land was also bestowed on the Dutch general. The property was a part of the confiscated estates of the same Lord Dungan, and several passages in the letters concern the claim he made to have the territory restored to him. According to the somewhat ambiguous Articles of Limerick, agreed upon when the town surrendered, Catholics expected to retain their property and certain members of the Dungan family were allowed to do so; however, William Dungan, the Earl of Limerick, mentioned in the letters, had

been a leader of the Jacobite resistance and his chances of regaining his lands were slight.

In November 1692 Athlone wrote to William Bladneyd, urging that Parliament either confirm the King's gift or offer a substitute for it:

They tell me from Ireland that it is a great detriment to me that the Learned Ones in England do not make haste, and that as long as they have not placed the Great Seal of the Kingdom on it, the gratification which the King made me will be very little in surety. If Colonel Dungan has the right in his claims, I hope he will push them quickly and before all the confiscations have been given out, in order that the King may recompense me elsewhere.

A month later he refers to the matter again: "I am impatient to know whether the claims of Colonel Dungan are just. If they are, I hope I shall be indemnified in some other way."

The suit was settled in Athlone's favor, and he disposed of some of the lands by sale, assuming that he had a clear right. Unfortunately for him, the King gave large tracts of the confiscated estates to others than those whose services in the Irish campaign called for acknowledgment. Elizabeth Villiers, William's former mistress, and his Dutch favorites, Portland and Albemarle, received grants that the Irish government had counted on to pay some of the expenses of the war. Complaints and petitions poured in to Parliament. In 1700 the House of Commons, in a sweeping gesture, passed a bill resuming all the Irish forfeitures. No exception was made of those given in reward for service. Athlone petitioned Parliament for special consideration of his case, and the letters in the Library indicate that some of the members recognized the justice of his claim. He wrote to Bladneyd in March 1702, "I have learned by yours of the 17th of last month that my petition has been received and read in the Lower House which you hope is a good omen. We must entertain hopes all the more since you say that I have still many good friends in the House."

A month later, the death of the King reduced the Earl's chances of a favorable settlement; for if William could not persuade Parliament to use his Dutch countrymen well, it was unlikely that Anne would try. Moreover, urgent preparations for the impending war overshadowed all other business before the

Houses. Athlone wrote resignedly at the news of the King's death, "I do not believe that I can entertain any more hope of a favorable outcome, or that my services rendered will come into consideration. I give thanks to God that I can still find bread and console myself that I have always served your Kingdom without self-interest and in all faithfulness."

Several letters concern debts incurred during the Irish campaign. Administrative machinery was so slow and so imperfectly organized that government creditors were long in getting their money and sometimes failed to get it at all. Athlone wrote to Whitehall in November 1692, more than a year after the final victory of the Irish campaign, "I beg you, Sir, to think about procuring my discharge in due form of what was disbursed in Ireland under my orders. They say that that is necessary, and I desire that beforehand they examine carefully whether I had the slightest profit." Four months later he wrote again:

I do not wish to bother you again about my personal affairs . . . Since, however, the King is soon to leave London to come to this country, I would be infinitely obliged to you if, before the departure of his Majesty, you could procure for me the discharge which you promised heretofore, touching the disposition I had of the finances of his Majesty in Ireland, seeing that the world and, if I dare say so, the people of your Nation are a little subject to change and services rendered can soon be forgotten.

One of the letters is addressed to Athlone by Dan Butts, a commissioner who had served in provisioning and transporting refugees and troops from Ireland to the Continent after the Irish campaign. Three years later the masters of the ships were still unpaid, while others whose vessels had been lost or seized by government creditors could not get any compensation. They seem to have been pressing Commissioner Butts for their money, and his letter of January 1694 has a note of desperation in it:

Touching the Master's conditions of the Transport Ships that went with me to France, several of them lost theyre Vessells but can git no Satisfaction for them; tho' [they] have — under o^r. Lordsp. hand for it, & those few that took in any Goods — For account of my L^d. Lucan cannot git a penny for that years Expedition; unless yo^r Lords^p. will be so good to them poor wretches as to write a letter in their favor to M^r Blathwayt & press him to speak to the King & the Lords of the Tressory on their behallfes . . . And

that is not all the ffavor I'm to beg you^r. Lords^p. but that you'll please to writ something in my ffavor allso, or I'm Eternally Ruing'd; for the Masters will all come uppon me for their Freight; tho' I had not a Farthing concerne in them.

Lord Lucan, mentioned in both Butts's and Athlone's letters, had been among the exiles transported to France. Otherwise known as Patrick Sarsfield, he was a leader of the Jacobite forces in Ireland and signed the civil Articles of Limerick when the town surrendered. By the terms of the Articles it was agreed that all who preferred to live abroad with James II, rather than to stay in Ireland under the rule of William and Mary, should be allowed to do so. With Sarsfield as their leader, a considerable number of people (according to Macaulay, 2,600; according to Bishop Burnet, 12,000) chose to go. Athlone was instructed to expedite the matter in every way possible. Under his direction, eleven or twelve vessels assembled at Cork and were provisioned by Commissioner Butts.

The outcome of Dan Butts's case is not given in the correspondence. He was unfortunate in that the machinery for war, for outfitting ships and transporting troops, had almost come to a stand-still at the time of his service. The sympathies of some officials for James accounted for part of the disorganization; but there was also difficulty in getting credit from trades people for a new government whose accounts a Jacobite victory would invalidate. Immediately after his accession, William had created a Victualling Board, a Transport Board, and a Commission for Care of the Sick and Wounded. But the integration of these with the Admiralty and regular Commissioners of the Navy was slow. Inefficiency reached such a pass in 1693, the year of Butts's appeal to Athlone, that a merchant group organized a "Committee of Trade" to represent business interests and to deal directly with the Admiralty Board. In the case which concerned Commissioner Butts and the Earl, an emergency order from the Lord justices was employed. Time was an important factor, both in the departure of the Jacobite exiles and in the movement of idle troops from Ireland to the Flanders campaign where they were much needed, and orders through the regular channels would have required perhaps months. It is not surprising that, in the chaotic state of the administration,

such accounts were deferred and forgotten. It is likely, however, that when the matter was brought before Secretary at War Blathwayt, the expenditures were authorized and the debts incurred by Dan Butts were paid.

Several of the other letters show Athlone in this same rôle of petitioner for the welfare of men who had served him or who were in some way dependent upon him. Richard Blake, resident of Galway, had been active "in preserving and protecting his Protestant Neighbors during the late Irish Warres and in persuading his Relatives, Friends and Acquaintances in the Garrison of the said Town to give it up without any bloodshed." Nearly ten years after the siege of Galway the Earl wrote a warm recommendation for his faithful partisan.

THE subject of arrears in the pay of the fighting forces appears frequently in the correspondence. Much has been written of the corruption in the military administration of the time. In 1702, the date of Athlone's first complaint about arrears, it had reached such a state that a Parliamentary Commission was appointed to investigate the matter. Gross malpractices came to light; and Lord Ranelagh, the Paymaster-General, was voted guilty of misappropriating public funds and was dismissed. It was evident, however, that Lord Ranelagh was not entirely responsible for the irregular book-keeping, false accounts, and other fraudulent methods which the investigation revealed. The system was at fault. Based on local and obsolete custom, it permitted deductions, off-reckonings, and fees to every official involved. Moreover, public finances were so poorly planned that the treasury frequently lacked funds to pay in full, and by the time the paymasters and other officials had made their deductions, there was little or nothing left for the soldier or sailor.

Athlone's letter of March 1702 complains particularly of the paymaster Van der Esch:

I find the resolution of Parliament not to pay the back pay of our troops before Van der Esch has rendered his account a little harsh, for it is not the troops who have established him as paymaster. He was given by the King, and your Treasury confided the money to him. The guards are paid, and the discounts and off-reckonings of the others were made and accepted. They discounted all they could

humanly find, and these poor devils will not be paid because they will never be able to force Van der Esch to go to England to render account of the off-reckonings. Fine recompense, indeed, for their faithful services!

And again, nine months later: "We are working at present to oblige Mr. Van der Esch to pass over to England in order that he submit his accounts and that any sort of pretext may be removed from your Parliament not to pay our arrears which are so legitimately due us." On the back of the letter, written presumably in the hand of a Whitehall clerk, is a note: "From my Lord Athlone, not despair, to bring matter about to my Lord Marlborough's favor; his arrears, too."

The letters do not give the results of the inquiry. But the Parliamentary investigation had brought the abuses of the prevailing methods to public attention, and three years later, in 1705, the whole paymaster system was reformed. Two well-paid "Controllers of the Accounts of the Army" now kept accurate records of all the money disbursed, and were required to render strict statements to Parliament.

The correspondence contains many references to the proceedings in Parliament. The Earl's attitude was casual in the earlier letters when England's war policy received almost unanimous support from both Whigs and Tories. "We have much joy that Parliament has taken such good resolutions," he wrote Bladneyd from Brussels in 1692. "It doesn't matter if their choler is vented a little on the foreign generals." As long as Englishmen understood that their commercial prosperity abroad and political security at home demanded the defeat of France, he could regard with tolerance and even amusement the national resentment against the Dutch generals.

The tone of the letters becomes much less complacent after the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, when Englishmen felt assured of a period of peace and domestic politics became more factional. Many people who had recognized William because of his wife's Stuart blood found him unacceptable after her death in 1695 and transferred their allegiance to her sister Anne. The Tories revived the tradition of parliamentary opposition to the king's ministers with particular bitterness because of William's stubborn insistence upon retaining a Whig ministry. The feel-

ing against him was extended to all Dutch compatriots; the acts of the Parliament of 1699-1700, which nullified his Irish land grants to them and dismissed his Dutch guards, showed the extent of the hostility. The reduction of the army to 7,000 men, while Louis XIV kept 180,000 on foot, further gratified those who disliked the King and regarded the Continental wars as a defense of Dutch interests. But it frightened military men like Athlone, who knew the strength of France and the precarious nature of the peace.

When Louis XIV renounced all treaty obligations and offered the gratuitous insult of recognizing the exiled Stuarts as rightful rulers of England, Parliament stopped wrangling and opposition receded. A united House of Commons voted money and men for the Grand Alliance of all anti-French forces in Europe.

The Earl of Athlone wrote with relief in May 1702, "We see a great change in your Court. God grant that it may remain right firm in its good resolution and that England and Holland never separate in their interests. It is the conservation of both." In order to reassure England that the Dutch Republic was doing its part, he affirmed: "The speeches which your Houses have made fortify us a great deal and are a consolation for everyone who can only judge religion and liberty lost if we do not remain united, toward which nothing will be lacking on this side. The firm and vigorous resolutions which they are taking in the state are evident marks of this." He emphasized the joint nature of the enterprise again. "I command here an army composed for the most part of Englishmen and the rest of Dutchmen, Auxiliaries of the Emperor, and upon this ground we are beginning the war."

Even after England had pledged herself to the Alliance, the strategy of the war was dependent upon the number of men and the amount of money voted at each session of Parliament. The war leaders had, then, the dual assignment of planning the campaign and of persuading the body at Westminster to vote adequate support for it. Athlone appears in the second capacity in a letter written at the Hague in December 1702:

The day before yesterday they built bonfires for the happy success of the last campaign, and we hope that the future one will be

likewise. It only rests with the Gentlemen of Parliament to render it glorious by augmenting your troops with some 20,000 men in order that your Captain-General [Marlborough] as well as I may each have a good army to act separately, and in order that we may penetrate into the hearts of Flanders, Brabant, and the rest of the Low Countries.

Six months later, Athlone refers to the efforts of the High Tories, under the leadership first of Rochester and then of Nottingham, to obstruct a vigorous war policy on the Continent. They hoped to weaken the pro-war Whig party, in which Dissenters were numerous, by raising the question as to whether or not non-Anglicans had a right to hold office. According to the Corporation and Trust Acts, officials and members of public bodies had to be communicants of the Church of England. Dissenters had generally met the requirements by occasional conformity, that is, by taking the sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church once in a while, continuing at the same time to attend their chapels. This evasion had been acceptable to a large body of opinion, and no sovereign before Anne had been willing to see the discriminatory acts enforced. The new Queen's High Church views and somewhat dogmatic nature encouraged the Anglican extremists to bring in a bill against occasional conformity. Lord-Treasurer Godolphin, who was bound to Marlborough by family connections and personal loyalty, fought for supplies for the war while the dispute over religion went on. At last the Commons voted the necessary troops; but they also passed the Occasional Conformity Bill, which, if approved by the Lords, would insure a Tory House of Commons hostile to the war effort. Athlone wrote of the measure:

Your resolution for the augmentation of the troops gives great pleasure here and they believe it to be very necessary. But, to speak frankly, the restriction scandalizes us a little and we believe you are as much engaged and interested in this war as we are. At least they could have managed a little milder law.

In the end, the measure was defeated in the House of Lords, to the satisfaction of moderates in both politics and religion, and to the relief particularly of the pro-war party.

THE Earl referred frequently to the campaigns in which he

was engaged. Here again the personal view is valuable. In the fall of 1692 the war had gone against the Allies, and the troops were in winter quarters preparing for the spring offensive. In England, in November, Parliament was reviewing the discouraging report that there was "not another day's subsistence for the army in the treasury," and was listening to complaints about English casualties in the war. "The enemy makes great preparations," Athlone wrote anxiously from Brussels, "and I believe they will attack Charleroy again during the winter. In any case if England does not make an extraordinary effort as well as Holland, the Low Countries are lost and God knows what will become of the rest." Later he reported: "The French are making furious levies once again and each village is taxed to deliver so many soldiers each one according to its strength, all equipped and mounted. That is what goes on here."

Sometimes Athlone simply gives an account of the incidents of the campaign. In a letter with the heading "At the Camp of Clarenback, May 14, 1702," he wrote:

The siege of Keyerswert is going slowly . . . The enemy is at Zomten from which they have dislodged the Count of Tilly who made a fine and glorious retreat without losing a man, finding himself two-thirds inferior to M. de Boufflers . . . We have remained here eight days without the enemy daring to attack. A party of six hundred horse which approached us a little too near was beaten in fine fashion.

The letter which tells of his quick action at Nimwegen, which is credited with having saved Holland from invasion, is worth quoting for its modesty. In June 1702 Athlone was in charge of the Dutch troops at Clèves. Marlborough had returned to England to arrange for supplies. No immediate action from the French against Athlone's sector was anticipated. Suddenly the Duke of Burgundy and the seasoned Marshal Boufflers with 50,000 French troops made a move to cut off the Dutch from Nimwegen, gateway to the Low Countries. Athlone's forces were greatly outnumbered, so that retreat was the only course possible. The problem was to reach Nimwegen before the French. This Athlone did and, with the help of the citizens of the town, repulsed the enemy. Holland regarded him as its hero. Two weeks after the engagement he wrote to Mr. Bladney:

I have a thousand excuses to make for my long silence but I have been so overwhelmed with business that I hope you will pardon me. In part the troublesome retreat that I have been obliged to make is the cause of it. However, it was rather fortunate, for I lost very few men and saved Nymwegen, Grave and the army, the design of the enemy being to cut me off. And although in their gazettes they make much boasting, I am persuaded that they lost four times as many men as I and that in their hearts they are not proud of it.

The more intimate side of Athlone's personality finds little expression in the correspondence. There is no mention of his Dutch wife, Ursula, a woman of considerable property who kept his home at Utrecht, nor of the six sons and eight daughters that she bore him. The Earl wrote to his London representative in a cordial but somewhat formal tone. Certain passages, however, give fragmentary indications of his personal interests. As a sportsman — he was at one time master of the Huntsmen of Veluwe — he was concerned with the fate of the deer in Holland after the death of William, who himself a huntsman, had protected the game. "The deer have suffered greatly along the Selne since the death of our good King," he wrote, "and I believe that they have killed more than four thousand of them."

One of his last letters he ended: "If I dared trouble you with a little errand, I would beg you to send me five or six dozen bottles of palm wine for the coming campaign if there is any good to be found." Later, he added "a few dozen of good cider" to the request . . .

Jones Very: New England Mystic

By WARNER B. BERTHOFF

"He had the manners of a man, one, that is, to whom life was more than meat, the body than raiment. He felt it an honor, he said, to wash his face, being, as it was, the temple of the spirit. And he is gone into the multitude as solitary as Jesus. In dismissing him I seem to have discharged an arrow into the heart of society. Wherever that young enthusiast goes he will astonish and disconcert men by dividing for them the cloud that covers the profound gulf that is in man."

(Last paragraph of Emerson's long entry on Very in his Journal for October 28, 1838.)

IN the late 1830's Boston was once again plunged into religious controversy. For over twenty years the descendants of New England orthodoxy had been fighting the Unitarian heresy; now suddenly on the left flank of the Unitarians appeared the infidelity of Transcendentalism. To the orthodox, the new development, which seemed to bring God immediately into nature, was proof that Unitarianism could result only in sacrilege; to the Unitarians, it was a heresy that corrupted their own vision of a benevolent God watching over moral man.

In such a time no one could be sure that the distinguishing marks of a Christian spirit might not conceal the seed of irreligion. Piety was a virtue only so long as it remained within the bounds of sanity and respectability. And so in 1838 when a young Harvard tutor gave signs of claiming direct immersion in the Godhead, it was a serious and distressing matter indeed. The fact that Jones Very was a friend of Emerson, and of Bronson Alcott and Elizabeth Peabody, was sufficient to cast suspicion on his deviation; and the nervous exhaustion that soon overcame him appeared as the not unexpected consequence of his course.

In this opinion are the lineaments of the traditional picture we have of Jones Very: an associate of the Transcendentalists, one of Emerson's odd young men, who wrote verse of some merit and carried pantheism into a mysticism that bordered on

insanity. Hawthorne's comment that Very was "a poet whose voice is scarcely heard among us yet by reason of its depth" proved only too true. Though anthologists from Griswold, the Duyckincks, and Stedman to Louis Untermeyer have published and praised his poems, and though critics have compared him to Vaughan, Herbert, Traherne, and Blake, he has remained little known and practically unread. In 1936 Yvor Winters, acclaiming him as "one of the finest devotional poets in English," presented his critical estimate as a rediscovery.¹ A biography by William I. Bartlett has since appeared, in which the outlines of the poet's later career are filled in.² Yet in spite of this renewed appreciation, Very's work has been only partially examined.

The poetry has received most attention, yet without any attempt to establish a critical canon. The first edition, with sixty-five poems, was printed in 1839, well before the end of the religious excitement which inspired Very to his finest writing. In 1883, three years after the poet's death, William P. Andrews published a selection of one hundred and twenty-eight poems, with a biographical memoir. Then in 1886 James Freeman Clarke sponsored a "complete" edition, containing the three early critical essays and more than six hundred poems. Fifty years ago German scholarship had a flurry of interest in Very, as part of a general study of American Transcendentalism. Out of this enterprise came Albert Ritter's translation of ninety-two poems, printed in 1903. The German versions capture, and sometimes enhance, the simple dignity of the iambic lines of the original. In their quiet fervor some of them remind one of the poems of Rainer Maria Rilke. In his sub-title, the translator called Very "der Dichter des Christentums."³

The three American editions, which contain many textual variations, have long been out of print. (The Boston Public Library has two copies of the *Essays and Poems* of 1839, published by Charles C. Little and James Brown, and dedicated to Edward Tyrrell Channing of Harvard. It also has a copy of *Poems by Jones Very*, 1883, and of *Poems and Essays*, 1886, both published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company.) There is immediate need for a modern edition, based on a painstaking examination of the mass of later writing. Critical scholarship has an

important duty to perform here. But even more than his poetry, Very's prose has been neglected. The present study will consider, first of all, the critical essays and sermons.

IN 1836 Very graduated from Harvard College and entered the Divinity School; in 1843 he became a licensed Unitarian lay preacher. Between the two dates lay the whole of his spiritual crisis. The outward history of these years is brief. The ferment of the times acted upon his sensitive and ascetic temperament to produce an intensely personal excitement over the problem of grace. Man's soul seemed to him lifeless unless divine illumination rescued it. Before long he was convinced that this illumination required the absolute surrender of man's will to the will of God; and that he himself had made the surrender and therefore had become a selfless prophet of the Divine.

In 1838 Very left Harvard and, after a month at the McLean Asylum in Somerville, retired to his family home in Salem. However, he found his defenders against the rumors of his insanity. His friends in the Concord circle commented on what Emerson called his "peculiar state of mind," but were more impressed by the imaginative clarity of his religious vision. Emerson spoke for them all when he wrote to Margaret Fuller: "Talk with him a few hours and you will think all insane but he." Of even greater weight is the fact that Very got over his condition as rapidly as he had entered into it. He went through a very real struggle, resolved it by an act of submission to God, and retained until his death in 1880 the calm assurance that he had experienced Christian regeneration. The quietism in which he passed his remaining forty years may be even more foreign to-day than it was a hundred years ago, but it is hardly a condition that can be called insane. Indeed, Emerson soon found it more dull than peculiar. As Very, preaching in the 1840's, gradually took on the tone and doctrines of the Unitarian orthodoxy, Emerson discovered that the younger man's absorption in his private experience made for an unfruitful friendship, and began to speak of him in the past tense.⁴

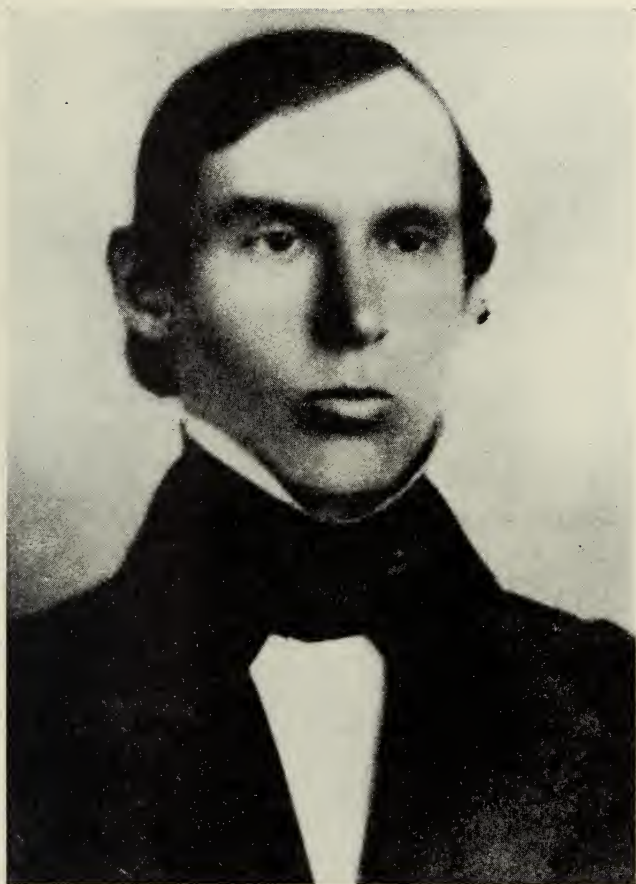
Very himself attributed the resolution of his crisis to self-abnegation. By the late summer of 1838 he was saying that his

words and his poems were spoken by God, that he was merely a channel for the Divine. Whatever their source, the poems present an almost literal record of his mystical experience. Once, overcome in his Harvard classroom by an acute sense of the Divine Power circulating through him, he cried out to his astonished students, "Flee to the mountains, for the end of all things is at hand."⁵ This was apparently no momentary seizure but the expression of a constant state of excitement, and Very transliterated it directly into a sonnet called "Flee to the Mountains." It is a rough piece, which was left in manuscript, since the poet would not revise his work after first getting it down. Even so, its apocalyptic force suggests his overwrought mind; here in crude form (without any punctuation) the subjectivity of his best work flares out:

*The morn is breaking see the rising sun
Has on your windows cast his burning light
Arise the day is with you onward run
Lest soon you wander lost in murky night
I will be with you 'tis your day of flight
Hasten the hour is near you cannot fly
Leave all for me who stops can never fight
The foe that shall assail him from on high
They come the plagues that none can flee
Behold the wrath of God is on you poured
Oh hasten find the rest He gives in me
And you shall fear no fear in me restored
They cannot pause Oh hasten while you may
For soon shall close around thy little day.⁶*

Behind the identification of the poet's voice with that of Christ lies the mysticism of the faith towards which Very was struggling — a faith in which the soul is redeemed not simply by Christ but in Christ, and becomes one with Christ.

IN the revival of interest in Very's poetry, centering on the sonnets which are his most accomplished work, the three critical essays printed in the little 1839 volume have been largely overlooked. Were these essays valuable only as aids to understanding the poems, their neglect would still be distressing; the praise, however, which they won from Emerson and Margaret



*Jones Very, at Twenty-Four
(Courtesy of the Essex Institute)*

Fuller suggests that they deserve examination on their own merits. The writing is graceful and sensitive; and the point of view, consistently subjective, leads directly into Very's religious consciousness.

The first, "Epic Poetry," was a re-working of Very's Bowdoin Prize essay, "What reasons are there for not expecting another great epic poem?" His answer was that the age of Homer had provided the ideal material for epic poetry in its concern for man's active existence, a concern which in the Christian era gave way to thought and self-consciousness; as this change developed, dramatic poetry had succeeded the epic. In the Christian era, man had become burdened with conflicts that were unknown to Homer's heroes, who "could have no conception of power that was not perceived in its visible effects":

For the interest of the *epic* consists in that character of greatness that in the infancy of the mind is given to physical action and the objects associated with it; but the interest of the *drama* consists in those mental struggles which precede physical action, and to which in the progress of man the greatness of the other becomes subordinate.⁸

The *Divine Comedy* showed Christian hostility towards the classical epic; in Dante's poem man as an individual was for the first time the center of interest. Milton chose the only subject that possesses epic interest for a modern Christian, the Fall of Man itself; but Milton appeared to Very to have become a dramatic rather than an epic poet. In words which reflect both a Romantic bias and the agony of his own ordeal, Very asserted that "the heroism of Christianity is not seen so much in the outward act, as in the struggle of the will to control the springs of action."⁹ He found this transition comprehended within Milton's great work:

Though he has not made the Fall of Man a tragedy in *form*, as he first designed, he has yet made it tragic in *spirit*; and the epic form it has taken seems but the drapery of another interest. This proves that, however favored by his subject the epic poet of our day may be, he must by the laws of his own being possess an introspective mind, and give that which Bacon calls an inwardness of meaning to his characters, which, in proportion as the mind advances, must diminish that greatness once shown in visible action.¹⁰

Very did not regret the change; on the contrary, he believed

that it made possible the expression of the great Christian drama of fall and redemption. He summarized:

The effect of Christianity was to make the individual mind the great object of regard, the centre of eternal interest, and transferring the scene of action from the outward world to the world within, to give to all modern literature the dramatic tendency, — and as the mind of Homer led him to sing of the physical conflicts of his heroes with *visible* gods *without*; so the soul of the modern poet, feeling itself contending with motives of godlike power *within*, must express that conflict in the dramatic form, in the poetry of sentiment.¹¹

In one sense the companion essays, "Shakespeare" and "Hamlet," are further developments of this idea; Very went directly to the dramatic nature of Shakespeare's poetry to find its core of greatness. But he also revealed how his ethical values were determining his critical judgment. His language suggests that the latter was in part based on his own experience:

My object is to show . . . that a desire of action was the ruling impulse of Shakespeare's mind; and consequently a sense of existence its permanent state. That this condition was natural; not the result felt from a submission of the will to it, but bearing the will along with it; presenting the mind as phenomenal and unconscious, and almost as much a passive instrument as the material world.¹²

Very's Shakespeare was "the unconscious work of God," a poet who possessed a universality of mind in a constant state of dramatic activity, such as had become possible for Christian man only by freeing himself of his load of selfishness. Shakespeare achieved this condition by his "natural innocence," not by an act of conscious submission: "The mind which of its own inborn force is natural, is innocent; but that which has been permitted to become so, is virtuous."¹³ Very drove home his point with the humanist equation: "True virtue would be conscious genius." As experience can surpass innocence, some modern poet may surpass Shakespeare, who described the world "as if it had never known sin." Continuing his extravagant thesis, Very went on to say: "No man can enter more entirely into the lives of others than Shakespeare has done, until he has laid down his own life and gone forth to seek and to save that which is lost."¹⁴ Submission was thus the highest exercise of the will as well as the most fruitful. "Come learn the sweet obedience

of the will," the poet was to write in one of his best sonnets.¹⁵

Very regarded Hamlet as the consummate expression of Shakespeare's "sense of existence." Quoting a contemporary critic, he wrote of the Prince: "We love him not, we think not of him because he was witty, because he is melancholy, but because he existed and was himself; this is the sum total of the impression."¹⁶ What Very meant, he made abundantly clear:

However strong the sense of continued life such a mind as his may have had, it could never reach that assurance of eternal existence which Christ alone can give . . . Here lie the materials out of which this remarkable tragedy was built up. From the wrestling of his own soul with the great enemy, comes that depth and mystery which startles us in Hamlet . . . He fears nothing save the loss of existence. But this thought thunders at the very base of the cliff on which, shipwrecked of every other hope, he had been thrown. That which to every body else seems common, presses upon him with an all-absorbing interest; he struggles with the mystery of his own being, the root of all other mysteries, until it has become an overmastering element in his own mind, before which all others yield and seem as nothing.¹⁷

The passage may be taken as autobiographical; it opens upon the drama behind Very's own outward passivity. It rounds out the network of values which supported his life: virtue is genius; genius is expressed in the maximum fullness of life; this fullness is the mark of perfect existence; such perfection cannot possibly be found through anything but the regeneration of the spirit in Christ. Without regeneration the artist cannot come into the full exercise of his dramatic powers. Motivated by this conviction, the essays move with energy that makes most American criticism of the period meagre by comparison. To understand their force is to see that the essays are acts of confession. They come out of the depth of Very's struggle for the assurance that, having "nothing to fear save the loss of existence," he had forestalled that loss by the act of surrender to God.

Further, the essays are valuable as a poet's criticism of dramatic art. Their emphasis on the nature of Christian poetry gives insight into Very's own writing — grave, contemplative, prophetic, the seeming antithesis of the dramatic. Margaret Fuller, projecting her ideal critic, identified subjective criticism with mere impressionism, of which "the absolute, essential value

is nothing."¹⁸ She overlooked, however, the case when the critic is also a poet with a profound religious conviction.

SO intense was this conviction that at its extreme Very could say to Emerson: "I am glad at last to be able to transmit what has been told me of Shakespeare . . . You hear not mine own words, but the teachings of the Holy Ghost."¹⁹ The statement distressed and annoyed Emerson. And yet it spoke for the serenity of the poet, and not for the ordeal which he had passed through. Closer to the heart of his crisis is such a sonnet as "The New Birth," which combines into one experience Christian redemption and the creative vision of the artist. The poem leads directly from Very's criticism to his poetry:

*'Tis a new life; — thoughts move not as they did
With slow uncertain steps across my mind,
In thronging haste fast pressing on they bid
The portals open to the viewless wind
That comes not save when in the dust is laid
The crown of pride that gilds each mortal brow,
And from before man's vision melting fade
The heavens and earth; — their walls are falling now. —
Fast crowding on, each thought asks utterance strong;
Storm-lifted waves swift rushing to the shore,
On from the sea they send their shouts along,
Back through the cave-worn rocks their thunders roar;
And I a child of God by Christ made free
Start from death's slumbers to Eternity.²⁰*

The dichotomy of death and eternal existence is the essence of Very's "original relation to the universe." Around this Augustinian dualism he developed his major themes: the importance of submission to God's will; the lifelessness of the world without God's spirit; the light that floods the world when man wills his obedience; the brotherhood of the regenerate, and their sense of militant mission; and divine illumination, sustained by the recurrent imagery of the morning which "comes to those who willingly would see."²¹ Even the nature poems submit to these terms: it is the clear, assured vision of the regenerate that finds the living beauty in natural forms and objects.

This dualism found a perhaps even more striking expression

in the sonnet "The Dead" — a bitter pre-vision of the waste land of the next century:

*I see them, — crowd on crowd they walk the earth
Dry leafless trees to autumn wind laid bare;
And in their nakedness find cause for mirth,
And all unclad would winter's rudeness dare;
No sap doth through their clattering branches flow,
Whence springing leaves and blossoms bright appear;
Their hearts the living God have ceased to know
Who gives the springtime to th' expectant year;
They mimic life, as if from him to steal
His glow of health to paint the livid cheek;
They borrow words for thoughts they cannot feel,
That with a seeming heart their tongue may speak;
And in their show of life more dead they live
Than those that to the earth with many tears they give.²²*

But except through the experience of regeneration, Very never attempted to reconcile the dualism of his faith. In this consisted his chief difference from the Transcendentalists. He saw nothing in matter which of itself could partake of spirit, nothing in man which of itself might lead him to God. God was not in man unless He entered him totally, so that man was no longer anything in himself. An infinite qualitative distinction remained: man was either dead in the flesh or alive in the spirit.

Very's departure from Transcendentalism may best be seen by contrasting such a poem as "The New Birth" with Orestes Brownson's *New Views of Christianity*, a book which appeared in the same year as Emerson's *Nature*. For Brownson, Christ performed an act of metaphysical atonement, not of spiritual redemption, "a reconciliation of Spirit and Matter," in which each was preserved. The doctrine of redemption, according to him, implied an illusory separation in the beginning and an equally false swallowing-up of matter in spirit at the end.²³ Such a view could never have attracted Very. He was thoroughly indifferent to the epistemological issue of the relation of nature and mind. For the Transcendentalist, inheriting the half-century of German philosophy since Kant, the way out of skepticism was a vision of the mind mediating between the ideal and the natural world, and dynamically penetrating both. But for Very the problem remained so completely in terms of Augustinian piety

— of fallen Adam and redeeming Christ — that the correspondence of mind and nature was irrelevant and the identification of the human with the divine an absolute contradiction.

VERY knew how difficult it was to convey his ideas to any one who had not experienced the same rebirth of the spirit. The incident which Emerson recorded in his Journal in November 1841 is well known; yet it is worth quoting here:

When Jones Very was in Concord, he said to me, "I always felt when I heard you speak or read your writings that you saw the truth better than others, yet I felt that your spirit was not quite right. It was as if a vein of colder air blew across me." He seemed to expect from me a full acknowledgment of his mission and a participation of the same. Seeing this, I asked him if he did not see that my thoughts and my position were constitutional, that it would be false and impossible for me to say his things or try to occupy his ground as for him to usurp mine? After some frank and full explanation, he conceded this. When I met him afterwards one evening at my lecture in Boston, I invited him to go home to Mr. Adams's with me and sleep, which he did. He slept in the chamber adjoining mine. Early the next day, in the grey dawn, he came into my room and talked whilst I dressed. He said, "When I was at Concord I tried to say you were also right; but the spirit said, you were not right. It is just as if I should say, It is not morning; but the morning says, It is the morning."

"Use what language you will," he said, "you can never say anything but what you are."²⁴

The social consequences of this impasse were clear: when communication broke down, so did dependable ties of human sympathy. The unregenerate must be strangers to the conversation of the regenerate.²⁵ Yet to remain strangers cuts deeply against the grain. Brotherhood is the true state of all men for whom redemption is still an open choice:

*Then thou wilt prove a brother to my need,
For in the cross of Christ thou too canst bleed.*²⁶

But most men resist the necessary surrender; and Very felt himself isolated. As Emerson observed, his revulsion was actually physical; he shrank from giving his hand in impossible friendship.²⁷

Man's relation to his fellows, or in general to society, was a

main concern with all Transcendentalists. On one side there was Thoreau's experiment in solitude, on the other Ripley's conversion to the socialism of Fourier. For Parker the Transcendentalist was by definition a social reformer; and Emerson, in different terms, felt that the age was introspective and that individualism was the inevitable consequence. Alcott, again, believed that Emerson left society out of his scheme of things, especially those qualities of sympathy which he himself found in family and conversation. How much more urgent, then, was the social problem to Jones Very, whose view of the nature of man impressed upon him the impossibility of brotherly association with the unregenerate. Looking back to early Massachusetts, when orthodox faith bound together the commonwealth, Very thought that the problem of society would be solved if men lived by the spirit of God's Word:

*So shall our social fabric stand secure,
Long as the sun, the moon, and stars endure!*²⁸

He was, however, clear-eyed enough to see the corruption of that ideal. With Emerson, he recognized that the individual must work out his own problem and cannot compromise with any one who will not follow him in the spirit; and with Alcott, that sympathy and society are equally necessary to human existence. Thus welding his deep personal experience to traditional piety, he stated the dilemma with a force and clarity which assure the permanence of his poetry.

Yet, in terms of the world, Very was impractical after all, for the social question presses just as hard whether or not the individual reaches a private solution. And the same narrowness characterized, in the final measure, his religious attitude. Although it is easy to make invidious comparisons between his integrity and Emerson's apparent inconsistencies, Emerson was the more profound in recognizing the end to which Very was inexorably led:

Here is Simeon the Stylite, or John of Patmos in the shape of Jones Very, religion for religion's sake, religion divorced, detached from man, from the world, from science and art; grim, unmarried, insulated, accusing; yet true in itself, and speaking things in every word. The lie is in the detachment; and when he is in the room with other persons, speech stops as if there were a corpse in the apartment.²⁹

Six years later, in 1845, Emerson summed up his opinion in these caustic remarks:

He had an illumination that enabled him to excel everybody in wit and to see farthest in every company and quite easily to bring the proudest to confusion; and yet he could never get out of his Hebraistic phraseology and mythology, and, when all was over, still remained in the thin porridge or cold tea of Unitarianism.³⁰

Although he was never ordained, Very was licensed to preach and remained in the Unitarian church the rest of his life. Most of his sermons are imbued with the radical Christianity of the poems. The change is in their milder tone, in the gradual softening of the severity and militancy of the writer's youth. Developing the text which epitomized all his beliefs, "Except as a man be born again he cannot see the Kingdom of God" (John 3:3), he could still maintain:

To be a Christian is to begin a spiritual life, to be born into a higher state of existence. All men know what the natural life is, its joys and sorrows, and all the experiences which belong to it. But all men do not know what the spiritual life is, and the experiences which belong to its sphere. Only those can know who have been born again or born from above.³¹

As late as 1863 he was expounding St. Paul's teaching: "But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen; and if Christ is not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain."³² However, his opposition to the conventional ministry was twenty-five years in the past; its sources in his immediate experience had gone dry. When later he preached a sermon on the Resurrection, his Christian dualism had filtered down into the hesitant and equivocal belief that "the spiritual world is revealed to us now, although not so fully as it will be hereafter."³³ He had recourse by then to well-worn citations from Scripture, with appeals to prayer and Sabbath worship as the effective means of reaching God. Insisting on the historicity of miracles, he upheld them against both those who denied and those who explained them by the laws of nature. Once a Pietist, Very fell back upon issues which the Transcendentalist generation had long considered dead.

How far Very had receded from his early theological radicalism is apparent in a sermon on the nature of salvation. He turned

with sure perception to the seventh chapter of Romans: "No law hath power over a man longer than he liveth." Having given it a straightforward reading, he concluded: "As the Law could not save the Jews, neither could their Wisdom save the Gentiles." The sermon struck at the notion that man could ascend to the Divine by his own efforts. Yet how mildly was this once uncompromising message expressed:

Seek not in any other way or by any other name to be saved from your sins. Come simply believing that you will find pardon and love and you will receive them. The love and compassion of the Father meet us even while a great way off and receive us with rejoicing into the heavenly mansion. Who that has read the parable of the prodigal son can want faith that he is forgiven or resolution to return from his errors and wanderings to his Father's house? Faith purifies, strengthens and enlightens the mind, raises us up into fellowship with Christ and with God. It saves us from our sins and inspires us with hope of an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled and that fadeth not away.³⁴

His growing quietism drew Very farther and farther from participation in social questions. In the fifties when the assault on slavery was already mobilized, he preached on several occasions on the text "Christ's servants do not fight," passing from a rejection of the methods of violence to the confidence that meekness and endurance "will finally overcome all evil."³⁵ Needless to say, he condemned slavery; but his indifference to institutions made him also indifferent to reform. In another sermon, starting from the text "God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him," he offered the consolation: "He has revealed Himself in the history of the family, of the nation and of the individual man, guiding, educating, saving the race. Even when sin abounded, grace and love did *much more* abound . . ."³⁶

It is for his extraordinary religious consciousness that Very will be always remembered. He loved the world, and his verse is filled with nature imagery — but only as evidence of the handiwork of God. Avoiding the preoccupations of the Transcendentalists, he chose to pursue his native genius. He is the one figure of his generation who succeeded in translating the power of religious vision into formal poetry.

Notes

1. Ivor Winters: "Jones Very and R. W. Emerson: Aspects of New England Mysticism," *Maule's Curse*, New York 1938, 144.
2. William I. Bartlett, *Jones Very, Emerson's Brave Saint*, Durham 1942.
3. *Jones Very, der Dichter des Christentums*, Linz 1903.
4. James Freeman Clarke, in *The Western Messenger*, March 1839, made a defense of Very's sanity. "With respect to Mr. Very," he wrote at the end of a long article, "we have only to say that the intercourse we have ourselves had with him has given no evidence ever of such partial derangement. We have heard him converse about his peculiar views of religious truth, and saw only the workings of a mind absorbed in the loftiest contemplations, and which utterly disregarded all which did not come into that high sphere of thought . . ."
5. Bartlett, *op. cit.*, 160.
6. The sonnet is printed in Bartlett, *op. cit.*, 160.
7. The first draft of the original essay is in the library of the Essex Institute at Salem. Collections of manuscripts of Very's poetry and prose may be found in the Andover Theological Library at Cambridge and the library of Brown University.
8. *Essays and Poems*, Boston 1839, p. 10
9. *Op. cit.*, 28.
10. *Op. cit.*, 29-30.
11. *Op. cit.*, 20.
12. *Op. cit.*, 41.
13. *Op. cit.*, 55.
14. *Op. cit.*, 75.
15. *Op. cit.*, 166. "To the pure all things are pure."
16. The passage is quoted *verbatim* in "Epic Poetry," p. 20, but is used without acknowledgment in "Hamlet," p. 85.
17. *Essays and Poems*, 86-88.
18. *Art, Literature, and Drama*, 13-20.
19. William P. Andrews, *Poems by Jones Very*, Boston 1883, 20.
20. *Essays and Poems*, 126.
21. *Op. cit.*, 106. "Morning."
22. *Op. cit.*, 146.
23. *New Views of Christianity, Society, and the Church*, Boston 1836, 12.
24. Emerson, *Journals*, Cambridge 1908-1914, VI, 132.
25. Cf. the sonnet "Yourself," Andrews, *op. cit.*, 61.
26. *Essays and Poems*, 168. "Ye gave me no meat."
27. Emerson, *Journals*, V, 104. The poem "Thy brother's blood" (*Essays and Poems*, 154) was prompted by this reaction.
28. *Poems and Essays*, Boston 1886, 221.
29. Emerson, *Journals*, June 16, 1839.
30. *Op. cit.*, November 5, 1845.
31. Manuscript sermons in the Andover Theological Library: No. 83.
32. Andover MSS, No. 57. (I Corinthians 15:13-15.)
33. Andover MSS, No. 1. "Why seek ye the living among the dead?" (Luke 24:5.)
34. Andover MSS, No. 35. "Christ came to save all." (Acts 4:12.)
35. Andover MSS, No. 19. Very first preached the sermon on March 19, 1851.
36. Andover MSS, No. 32. (Genesis 1:27.)

The Correspondence of R. W. Griswold

This is the ninth installment of the descriptive catalogue of the Library's Griswold Collection — of the correspondence of Rufus Wilmot Griswold, critic, poet, and anthologist, and editor of *Graham's Magazine* from 1842-1843. Earlier portions appeared in *More Books* for March, April, May, and June 1941, February and September 1943, and in the July and October issues of *The B.P.L. Quarterly*.

NEAL, Mary. A.L.S. To [Frances Sargent (Locke) Osgood]. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 23, 1846.

[Portland.] Asks for a lock of Mrs. Osgood's hair for the writer's collection.

Gris. Corr., p. 203. First page torn.

— A.L.S. To Frances Sargent (Locke) Osgood. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Apr. 25, 1846.

[Portland.] Thanks Mrs. Osgood for sending a lock of her hair; is enclosing a note to [Edgar Allan] Poe asking for a lock of his.

Gris. Corr., pp. 203-4. Written on p. 1 of a letter from John Neal to Mrs. Osgood, apparently of the same date.

Nealy, Mary Elizabeth (Hare), *b.* 1825. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 6 x 4 in. Apr. 5, n.y.

[Corydon, Ind.] Inquires about the procedure in publishing a book.

Newbold, T. R. A. L. S. To —. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 13, 1851.

[410 Spruce St. Philadelphia.] Asks advice on the publication of his translation from the French of "The Mysteries of Russia."

Nichol, John Pringle, 1804-1859. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 8 x 5 in. Mar. 27, [1849?].

[Philadelphia.] Asks Griswold some questions about American politics and history; inquires particularly about Burr, Decatur, and Jefferson.

Nichols, Mary Sargeant (Neal) Gove, 1810-1884, letter to. See Neal, John.

Nichols, Rebecca Shepard (Reed), 1819-1903. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 12 x 8 in. N.d.

[N.p.] Biographical data [for *Female Poets of America*].

Letter written and signed by Mary B. Williams, for Mrs. Nichols, with a note at the end written and signed by Mrs. Nichols herself.

Noble, Louis Legrand, 1813-1882. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Jan. 21, 1843.

[Hertford, N. Car.] Is sending a poem by J[ohn] S[teinfort] Kidney. Asks Griswold to supervise publication of the writer's poem "Nihmahmin."

Noble's "Ni-mah-min: A Metrical Romance" appeared in *Graham's* in the July, August, and September 1843 numbers.

- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 28, 1843.

[Elizabeth City, N. Car.] Proposes to write a series of letters about the Carolina mountains, for *Graham's*.

- Ms. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.

[N.p.] Autobiographical sketch.

Rough draft, probably incomplete.

- Norton, Andrews, 1786-1853. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Aug. 14, 1843.

[Cambridge.] Asks Griswold to correct a misprint in the writer's poem ["Written After the Death of Charles Eliot," in *Poets and Poetry of America*].

- A.L. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Oct. 13, 1843. Place, salutation, and signature cut out.

Further corrections to be made in the writer's poems [in *Poets and Poetry of America*].

- A.L.S. To [William Henry] Furness. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Jan. 7, 1845.

[Cambridge.] Suggests a list of American prose writers.

- See also Binner, G. W.; Norton, Charles Eliot.

- Norton, Charles Eliot, 1827-1908. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 7 x 5 in. Feb. 9, 1855.

[Shady Hill, Cambridge.] Sends a copy of [Andrews Norton's] *Verses* [Boston 1853].

- Nourse, James Duncan, 1817-1854. See Wallace, Horace Binney.

- O**SBORN, Laughton, c. 1809-1878. Ms. copy of letter. To Edgar Allan Poe. 1 p. 6 x 5 in. Nov. 12, 1845.

[N.p.] Asks the return of some sonnets translated from the Italian by the writer, and submitted for publication [in the *Broadway Journal*].

Ms. copy, with notes, by Thomas Ollive Mabbott (1921), owner of the original. On the same mount, explanatory letter from T. O. Mabbott to the Librarian of the Boston Public Library, Aug. 7, 1921.

- Osgood, E. W. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Aug. 4, 1848.

[New York.] Asks Griswold to see [George Rex] Graham about the latter's publishing *The Literary World*. The writer seeks [James] Bayard Taylor's place on *The Tribune*.

- Osgood, Frances Sargent (Locke), 1811-1850. Ms. poem. 1 p. 7 x 8 in. Mar. 3, 1849.

[N.p.] Sonnet: "For one, whose being is to mine a star."

Gris. Corr., p. 218. Contains in acrostic the names of Frances S. Osgood and Rufus W. Griswold.

- Ms. poem. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.
[N.p.] "Among green, pleasant meadows."
Apparently a fragment.
- Ms. poem. 4 pp. 10 x 7 in. N.d.
[N.p.] "The Bouquet"; "Songs for Children."
- Ms. poem. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.
[N.p.] "Carrier's Address."
Emendation and stanzas added in pencil.
- Ms. poem. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.
[N.p.] "The Diamond-fay."
- Ms. poems. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.
[N.p.] "The fairy's lullaby"; "The Secret"; "Dirge for a Canary-bird."
- Ms. poems. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.
[N.p.] "The Holiday"; "The Child & bird"; "The orphan's song"; "The May-day song."
The "May-day Song" appears in Mrs. Osgood's *Poems* (Philadelphia 1850), p. 393.
- Ms. poems. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.
[N.p.] "Hymn"; "Bird Chorus."
"Hymn" appears on p. 268 of Mrs. Osgood's *Poems* (Philadelphia 1850).
- Ms. poem. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.
[N.p.] "Let there be Light."
- Ms. poem. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. N.d.
[N.p.] Fragment: "The sunset burned above the tropic isle . . ."
- Ms. poem. 8 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.
[N.p.] "Within a frame more glorious than the gem . . ."; "Reprove me not that I still change . . ."; "High connections."
Apparently rough drafts of "Woman" (pp. 69-72 in *Poems*, 1850) and "Caprice" (*Ibid.*, pp. 212-15). "High connections" is written in pencil on the margin of p. 2, and does not appear in the *Poems*.
- Ms. poems. 10 x 8 in. N.d.
[N.p.] "Woman; or the Diamond-fay."
- Ms. poem. 2 pp. 10 x 7 in. N.d.
[N.p.] "The wraith of the Rose."
- , letters to. See Cook, Eliza; Dinnies, Anna Peyre (Shackleford); Ellet, Elizabeth Fries (Lummis); Fuller, Hiram; Graham, George Rex; Hofland, Barbara (Wreaks) Hoole; Neal, John; Neal, Mary; Peterson, Charles Jacobs; Sargent, Epes; Seward, Mary L. (Mumford); Stebbins, Mary Elizabeth (Moore) Hewitt; Thomas, Edward J.
- See also Bean, Mary T.; Hart, Abraham; Osgood, Samuel Stillman; Walworth, Reuben Hyde; Welby, Amelia Ball (Coppuck).

Osgood, Samuel Stillman. A.N.S. To Mr. Wyatt. 1 p. 3 x 8 in. Sept. 7, 1850.

[New York.] Asks the return of Osgood's portrait of Edgar A[llan] Poe.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Jan. 5, 1853.

[Louisville, Ken.] Has left a portrait of [Alice] Cary for Griswold, and two stories by Mrs. [Frances Sargent (Locke)] Osgood: part two of "Glimpses of a Soul" and "Kate Carol to Her Star" — the latter from Mrs. [Mary L. (Mumford)] Seward.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. June 12, 1855.

[New York.] Asks about two poems [of Frances Sargent (Locke) Osgood?] which Griswold has promised. Has completed his manuscript.

Probably refers to a memoir of his wife which Osgood was then preparing.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 8 x 6 in. June 30, 1855.

[New York.] Is obliged to postpone publication of his memoir [of Frances Sargent (Locke) Osgood] because Griswold has not sent him some poems and other papers.

— See also Harrington, Henry F.

Ossoli, Sarah Margaret (Fuller), 1810-1850. See X., *pseud.*

O'Sullivan, John Louis, 1813-1895. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. July 24, 1842.

[Philadelphia.] Asks Griswold to furnish some "Anecdotes of the American Bench & Bar" for the [*Democratic*] *Review*.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Sept. 8, 1842. Signed with initials.

[New York.] An account of the establishment and history of the *Democratic Review*.

Gris. Corr., pp. 123-4.

Otis, Edmund Burke, 1819-1884. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Jan. 2, 1851.

[Boston, 9 State Street.] Inquires about the writer's translation of George Sand's *Jean Tiska*, submitted by Griswold to Stringer & Townsend.

Otis, Harrison Gray, 1765-1848. See [Otis, James F.]

Otis, Mrs. Harrison Gray. See Otis, Sally (Foster).

Otis, James Alleyne Gardner, b. 1800. A.L.S. To——. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 18, 1841.

[Boston.] Asks the addressee's terms for undertaking the editorship of the *Boston Transcript*.

Gris. Corr., pp. 102-3. Below signature: "Care Otis, Broaders & Co."

[Otis, James F.] A.L. To——. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 11, 1836. Signature cut out.

[Washington.] Promises an article. Sends a dozen autographs, with comments on each.

Autographs of George Lunt, Prentiss Mellen, and Harrison Gray Otis pasted in margins. Others have been detached.

Otis, James William, 1800-1869. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 8 x 5 in. Feb. 25[?], 1854.

[New York.] Biographical data on Sally (Foster) Otis [for *The Republican Court*].

Otis, Sally (Foster), 1770-1836. See Otis, James William.

Overall, John Wilford, 1823-1899. A.L.S. To Stringer & Townsend. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Mar. 13, 1852.

[Mobile, Ala.] Sends a poem, "The Funeral of Mirabeau," for the *International Magazine*.

P., A. Southron, *pseud.* Ms. Poem. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.

[N.p.] "To New York." Four lines added in pencil are much faded. On p. 4 are two lines of verse in a different hand.

Pabodie, William Jewett, 1813-1870. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 11 x 8 in. June. 11, 1852.

[Providence, R. I.] Refutes Griswold's statements concerning Poe's engagement to Mrs. [Sarah Helen (Power)] Whitman.

For an account of the controversy between Griswold and Pabodie, see Joy Bayless, *Rufus Wilmot Griswold* (Nashville 1943), pp. 190-192.

Page, William, 1811-1885. See Briggs, Charles Frederick.

Palfrey, John Gorham. See Fields, James Thomas.

Parker, Theodore. See Carey, Henry Charles; Greeley, Horace.

Parry & McMillan. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. Oct. 3, 1855.

[Philadelphia.] Notify Griswold of the dispatch of an unbound copy of *The Poets of America*, and ask him to review an anonymous novel, *Helen Leeson; A Peep at New York Society* [Philadelphia 1855].

On the same sheet is a letter from William H[enry] Furness to R. W. Griswold, Oct. 3, 1855.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. Dec. 27, 1855.

[Philadelphia.] Request corrections for a new edition of *The Poets of America*. Inquire about *Female Poets of America*.

— letter to. See Dana, Richard Henry.

Parsons, Thomas William, 1819-1892. A.L.S. To ——. 1 p. 7 x 5 in. May 18, 1854.

[Boston.] Encloses a poem for the Lewis Gaylord Clark testimonial volume [*The Knickerbocker Gallery*, New York, 1855].

Parson's contribution, a poem entitled "To A Rich Rascal," appears on p. 95.

— Ms. poem. 2 pp. 9 x 8 in. N.d.

"On a 'Magdalen' by Guido."

The Poets of America, ed. 1858, p. 563.

— See also Fields, James Thomas.

Patten, E. Fluide (?) A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 7 x 5 in. June 12, 1855.

[Brooklyn, N. Y.] Encloses a memoir of his brother, Major G[eorge] W[ashington] Patten.

— Ms. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.

Biographical sketch of the writer's brother, Major George Washington Patten. Written by E. F. Patten.

Patten, Major George Washington. See Patten, E. Fluide.

Paulding, James Kirke, 1778-1860. A.L.S. To Thomas W. White. 2 pp. 7 x 8 in. Dec. 7, 1855.

[N.p.] A partial list of the writer's works, with a favorable comment on Poe. Mutilated.

— A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Mar. 17, 1836.

[New York.] Regrets his inability to get Poe's work published in New York. Suggests he write a "tale" in two volumes. Remarks on lack of good writers in America and England.

Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 31-32.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 9 x 7 in. July 26, [1853?].

[Hyde Park, N. Y.] Encloses a short description of the scenery around his home [for *Homes of American Authors*, 1853?].

Gris. Corr., p. 292. P. 2 contains a fragment of a philosophical article.

— A.D. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. N.d.

[N.p.] Autobiographical sketch.

Peabody, Andrew Preston, 1811-1893. A.L.S. To —. 1 p. 8 x 6 in. Dec. 8, 1855.

[Portsmouth, N. H.] Accepts an article submitted to him [for *North American Review*?].

Gris. Corr., p. 299.

Peabody, Ephraim, 1807-1856. A.L.S. To James T. Fields. 2 pp. 7 x 5 in. Apr. 5, 1849.

[N.p.] Encloses some poems for inclusion in G[riswold's?] collection.

— A.L.S. To James Freeman Clarke. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. June 19, 1855.

[Boston.] Autobiographical data.

— See also Clarke, James Freeman.

Peale, Rembrandt, 1778-1860. A.L.S. To —. 2 pp. 11 x 8 in. Nov. 12, 1856.

[Philadelphia.] Suggests various portraits, especially of the Washington family, for reproduction [in *Washington: A Biography: Personal, Military, and Political*. New York, 1856-60?].

Peck, George Washington, 1817-1859. A.D.S. 4 pp. 13 x 8 in. N.d.

[N.p.] Ms. poem: "A Storm on the Cape."

Peebles, C. Glen. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 8 x 5 in. N.d. [1853?]

[N.p.] Lists the offences for which [George G.] Foster has been com-

mitted to prison in Philadelphia, some of which Griswold is trying to "arrange." Mentions Mrs. Foster (Mme. de Marguerittes).

Perry, Oliver Hazard, 1785-1819. See Elliot, Jesse Duncan.

Peterson, Charles Jacobs, 1819-1887. A.L.S. To Frances Sargent (Locke) Osgood. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Apr. 10, 1844.

[Philadelphia.] Is publishing an article of Mrs. [Anna Peyre] Dinnies in the May number [of the *Ladies's National Magazine?*]. Would welcome her as a contributor, but can pay only moderate terms.

Gris. Corr., p. 152.

— See also Herbert, Henry William.

Peterson, Theophilus Beasley. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Jan. 7, 1850.

[Philadelphia.] Sends a notice of [Anne Brontë's] *Agnes Grey*; wants good notices in the *Tribune* and other papers.

Phillips, Sampson and Co. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 18, 1854.

[Boston.] Ask price of the copyright of *Poets and Poetry of America*.

Phinney, H. F. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 7 in. Mar. 11, 1852.

[Buffalo, N. Y.] Requests Griswold to return papers lent by his wife, Caroline Cooper Phinney, for the James Fenimore Cooper celebration.

Pickering, Octavius, 1791-1868. A.L.S. To Horace Greeley. 2 pp. 9 x 7 in. Feb. 20, 1850.

[Boston.] Corrects inaccuracies in the *Tribune* article on Jefferson and Tobias Lear.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 9 x 7 in. Mar. 22, 1850.

[Boston.] Inquires about Griswold's authority for an anecdote about the writer's father and Tobias Lear, for which Sidney Brooks denies responsibility.

Pierpont, John, 1785-1866. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. June 11, 1855.

[West Medford, Mass.] Will try to find the sister of Mr. [William B.?] Walter, the poet; she is the one to furnish information about her brother.

Pike, Albert, 1809-1891. A.D. 10 x 8 in. N.d.

[N.p.] Autobiographical sketch for *Poets of America*.

Poets of America, Philadelphia 1842, p. 348.

Pinkney, Edward Coote, 1802-1828. See Johnson, P. S.

Poe, Edgar Allan, 1809-1849. A.L.S. To John P. Kennedy. 2 pp. 9 x 6 in. Nov. 1834.

[Baltimore.] John Allan's death has left him without resources. Will Kennedy obtain for him an advance on the manuscript now in the hands of Carey and Lea?

Copy in an unknown hand of the original autograph in the Peabody In-

stitute Library. A note on p. 3, in the hand of John P. Kennedy, states that the manuscript referred to was *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*.

Poe, *Letters*, No. 38.

- L.S. To John P. Kennedy. 1 p. 9 x 6 in. Mar. 15 [1835].

[N.p.] Requests Kennedy's aid in obtaining a position in a public school.

Poe, *Letters*, No. 40. Copy in an unknown hand of original Ms. in Peabody Institute Library.

- L.S. To John P. Kennedy. 1 p. 9 x 6 in. Mar. 15, 1835.

[N.p.] Declines a dinner invitation because of his personal appearance.

Asks for a loan of \$20.

Poe, *Letters*, No. 41. Copy in an unknown hand of original ms. in P. I. L.

- A.L.S. To Thomas W. White. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. May 30, 1835.

[Baltimore.] Mentions the arrest of William Gwynn Jones for theft. Wonders at delay in publication of [John P.] Kennedy's book [*Horse-Shoe Robinson*]: apologizes for his critique of it. Expresses scorn for [Laughton Osborn's] *Confessions of a Poet* and defends his review of it. Suggests notice of the [*Southern Literary*] *Messenger* appear in the *American* rather than in the *Republican*.

Poe, *Letters*, No. 43.

- A.L.S. To Thomas W. White. 1 p. 8 x 6 in. June 12, 1835.

[Baltimore.] Announces his recovery. Promises a review of [John] Marshall's *Washington*. Volunteers to help circulation of the *Messenger*.

Poe, *Letters*, No. 44.

- A.L.S. To Thomas W. White. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 22, 1835.

[Baltimore.] Advises against a detailed review of the current [*Southern Literary*] *Messenger*. Comments favorably on its contributors. Would be glad to come to Richmond.

Poe, *Letters*, No. 45.

- L.S. To John P. Kennedy. 4 pp. 9 x 6 in. Sept. 11, 1835.

[Richmond.] Describes his position and salary on the [*Southern Literary*] *Messenger* and his depression. Thomas W. White would welcome contributions from Kennedy. *The Gift* has appeared and contains the *Ms. Found in a Bottle*. White wishes to print *Tales of the Folio Club*. Thinks *Discoveries in the Moon* taken from his own *Adventures of Hans Pfaal*.

Poe, *Letters*, No. 50. Copy, in an unknown hand, of original manuscript in Peabody Institute Library.

(To be continued)

The Etchings of F. L. Griggs

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

THROUGH the generosity of Mr. Albert H. Wiggin, a group of eighty-five rare states of etchings, ten drawings, five pencil sketches, and nine wood-engravings by Frederick L. Griggs has been acquired by the Print Department of the Library. The items have been selected from the collection of Griggs's work brought together by Mr. Frank G. Kennedy, of Philadelphia. Together with its earlier holdings, the Library's Griggs collection is now unique, in both quality and numbers.

The favorable reception of his work, although he was a modest man, must have made Griggs realize that success was his. He must have felt the impetus of growing accomplishment and known himself to be the equal of any contemporary architectural etcher. His great wealth of ideas, so admirably illustrated in this new acquisition, makes one feel that many facets were yet untried in his straining toward other subjects when he died in 1938, at the age of sixty-two. Not many artists' works display similar devotion to ideals and tireless effort for adequate expression. Griggs's originality, honesty of craftsmanship, and poetic vision have produced plates that are accepted by all schools of thought.

To realize the circumstances surrounding Griggs's art and the events which dictated his work, we must understand his sensitive and creative mind. Stanley Anderson, the distinguished English artist, wrote:

Griggs's work had a purpose, not an excuse . . . I always felt that he approached his work as an act of service (as all work should be approached), as a song of praise to eternal values . . . Though he used acid, his needle was imbued with love — of life and Nature and God over all . . . Each plate or drawing he started was to be his best yet. How else account for the immense trouble and struggle he expended in reaching his results? He could not just "shoot off" anything.

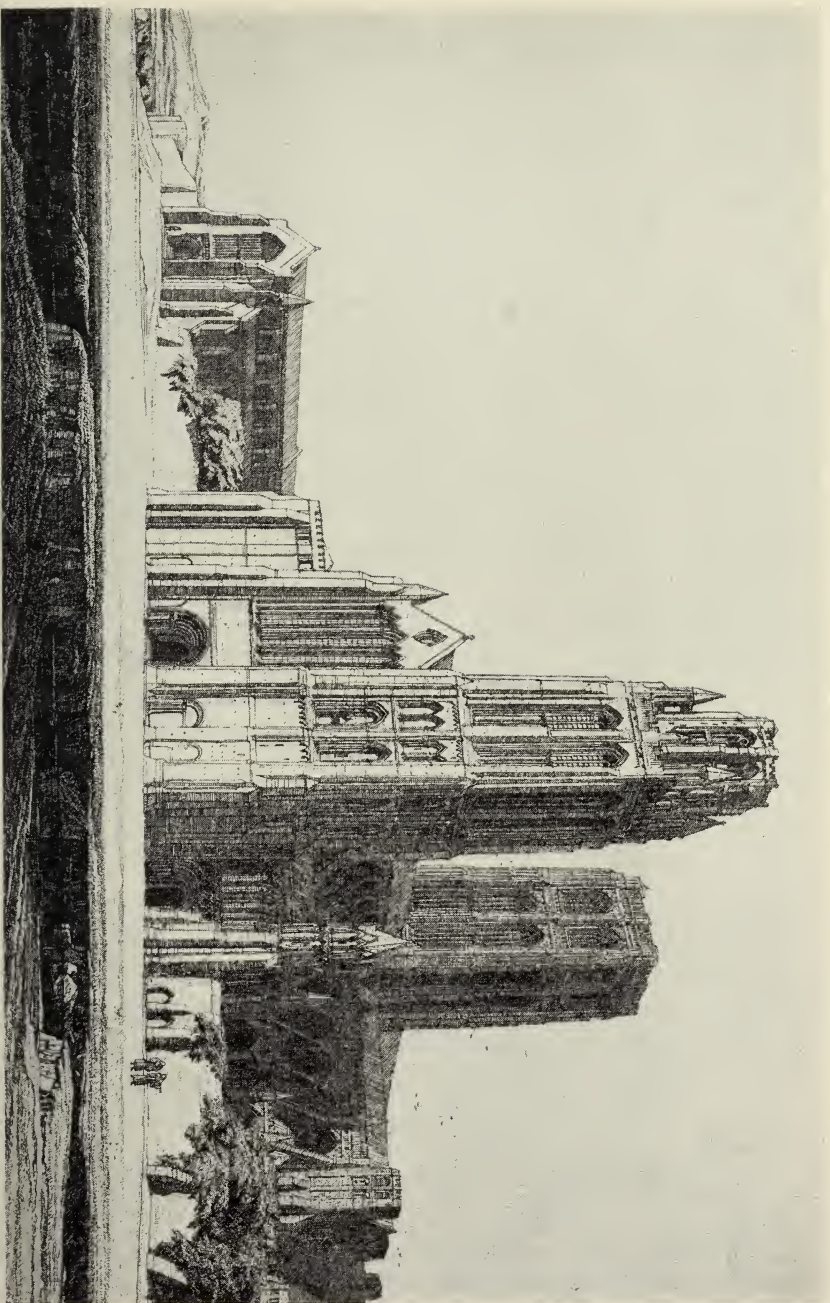
Griggs was both an expressionist and an impressionist. However, as an expressionist he differed in every respect from those who attempted to grasp their results in momentary or acci-

dental phenomena; and as an impressionist he endeavored to replenish his mind constantly with new impressions from which he afterwards formulated facts. These impressions were screened and relieved of all unnecessary detail, leaving only the pure conception for his able talent. The shallowness of "principles" which deny an artist the right to think for himself makes Griggs's achievements stand out, in comparison, as ever-growing in significance.

Among the states are a number of uncatalogued, intermediate, and touched impressions. They include such well-known plates as "Sellenger," intermediate between the fourth and fifth states; "Saint Botolph's, Boston," between the second and third states; "Sarras," a link between the fifth and sixth states; and "The Trent," between the second and third states. Two touched proofs with suggestions in pen and ink are those of "Mortmain" and "Castor." The first introduces a vine on the building drawn on a fourth state, never carried out in the etching; the second has been fortified with darker accents, to strengthen the ruined structure on a first state.

These states are more than a satisfying artistic expression of depicting monumental architecture. They represent the embodiment of the artist's philosophy. They are perhaps even more interesting than the final proofs, because of their freshness and straightforward inking and wiping. One cannot recognize the purity and potency of Griggs's talent unless one has been privileged to study it in the experimental stages of his work. Griggs's art is the result of a complex personality bathed in an atmosphere of the real and unreal. Few artists have absorbed so much and concentrated their experiences so completely into one welded unit.

"My method of arranging states," he himself wrote to G. F. Sandiford, "is to number each change as one state; to work at the plate until it is what I consider is as good as it can be made in my own hands; and then to finish off the printing. If my work puts the plate immediately back to a condition worse than the preceding state, it is then cancelled — so that the last state is always the best, and, in the nature of the method, not the rarest, except in some cases of accident." It is enlightening to study one of Griggs's typical plates through its various stages



"The Minster" by Frederick L. Griggs (seventh state)

of development. Such a print is "The Minster," beautifully described by Russell George Alexander in his catalogue *The Engraved Work of F. L. Griggs*, published in 1928:

Though this print is dedicated to the bells of the demolished Abbey of Oseney, and there may be some resemblances in it to what is known of that great house of the Austin Canons, it is not intended as an imaginative restoration. It is a noble and uncompromising conception of a large and important monastic church as it might have appeared about the end of the fifteenth century. It stands solemnly aloof on high, "holy ground," with the marks of the ages upon it; instinct with the veritable life and spirit of medieval building at its best; its several features no doubt to be read and dated with exactness; the whole group something like an epitome of such architecture over three or four centuries. As a piece of engraving and drawing it seems to me to be worthy of a great subject; the printing is very clear and clean, allowing the linear quality of the work, however delicate . . .

Here is an analysis of the states of "The Minster" in the Wiggin Collection:

First state. Full margins, measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ x 12 inches, and with the Latin inscription. The distance beyond the parish church on the left is faintly suggested in drypoint. The foreground is plain. The signature and the date of 1918 are etched within the limits of the final composition, in small capital letters, in the lower right-hand corner. 7 impressions. Printed on 17th-century corn-toned paper, cleanly wiped on warm plate with slight tone.

Second state. The distance indicated in drypoint has been eliminated, and a few heavily bitten passages are reduced in value. 8 impressions.

Third state. The foreground appears for the first time, etched in great detail, showing the remains of a partly-excavated stone foundation of a building in which there is water. The distance is now etched in. 11 impressions. Printed on old Japan paper, cleanly wiped from a warm plate.

Fourth state. The plate has been cut down and now measures 7 x 10 inches, which eliminates the margins and Latin inscription. With this state the artist experiments, and he has used a warm black ink on slightly *verdâtre* paper which intensifies the clear light and shade of the buildings and foreground. 13 impressions. Printed from a cold plate, cleanly wiped.

Fifth state. The entire foreground has been taken out, leaving a clear area for work on a new foreground. The etched-in signature also disappears. 4 impressions. Printed on modern Van Gelder with tone from a warm plate.

Sixth state. The new foreground now enters the composition representing what appear to be the remains of a moat, possibly a shallow quarry, or some such formation with standing water in it. 11 impressions. Printed on old French laid paper in warm black. Clean wipe with slight tone.

Seventh and final state. The seventh state has primarily to do with adjustment in color and slight changes in composition. The central tower has been reduced to its proper value and the white spaces on the light side have been filled in, giving it the proper distance behind the main tower. The change introduces an atmospheric effect lacking in the preceding states. The small turret immediately in front of the central tower is now in relief. The end of the transept is in shadow, and the two small towers at the end of the transept have been lowered to the height of the roof. The nearer turret has been re-designed. Two figures walking between the Minster and the church have disappeared, as well as the buttress on the wall to the right of the two figures. The space between the doorway and the window in the west front of the small church is filled in with arcading. Added work in drypoint has strengthened the distance with hill appearing. The foreground is considerably altered, the reflection in the water being clarified by heavier etching. This revision has brought the artist's conception to one symphonic whole. 33 impressions. Printed with black ink on warm old French laid paper, with clean wipe and very slight tone.

Griggs is one of a number of illustrious English etchers — Muirhead Bone, David Y. Cameron, James McBey, and Augustus John are the others — but on his own subject his name will stand out without a rival. Although his plates cover a small area, they have the power of a Canaletto or a Piranesi, and the beauty that only a master could conceive. Architect, historian, and print lover may find equal delight in them. They are impressions, in retrospect, of what was glory and of what might have been.

Notes on Rare Books

A First Edition of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*

THE *Anatomy of Melancholy* is one of the most amazing books ever written. Its author, Robert Burton (1577-1639), was, like Sterne, a country vicar; he was also a scholar, a college tutor and librarian, an amateur mathematician, astrologer, and physician; and he was a Clerk of the Market of Oxford — his duties in this office being to test and taste ale, cheese, and wine. In his work he set out to explore, in a serio-comic vein, every aspect of mental depression. The result was a collection of opinions of over a thousand writers on practically every field of interest: medicine, ethics, education, theology, astrology, horticulture, and love among them. The whole medley is welded together by the unique personality of the author.

The Library has recently acquired a rare first-edition copy of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. The book was published in 1621 by Henry Cripps at Oxford. The title-page gives only Burton's pseudonym, Democritus Junior. The edition contains "The Conclusion of the Author to the Reader," signed from his "Studie in Christ-Church Oxon. Decemb. 5. 1620." No subsequent issue, until the 1927 version edited by Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith, reprints the "Conclusion"; later editions, however, incorporated most of it into the Introduction.

The copy of the Library, a small thick quarto of 880 pages, is in splendid condition, beautifully bound in brown morocco by Francis Bedford. It has the rare *errata* leaf at the end. The errors of pagination, such as the repetition of 193 and 194, the omission of 643 and 644, and the incorrect numbering of many other pages, are a striking feature of the edition. The volume is dedicated to George, Lord Berkeley, who was a student at Christ Church when Burton taught there and who later gave him the living of Seagrave in Leicestershire. The title "Dominus de Brvse and Gour" which follows Berkeley's name was found to be erroneous; in later editions "Gour" was dropped and the title "Militi de Balneo" added. (The Oxford and the successive editions of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* are described by Edward Gordon Duff, Falconer Madan, and Edward Bensly in the *Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings*, Vol. I, pp. 191-215.)

Burton's book is, paradoxically, both ancient and modern in its

approach. On the one hand, it is based on the well-known theory of the four humors — blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile — which is behind most of the character portrayals of the Elizabethan drama. An excess of blood made a man sanguine; too much phlegm, phlegmatic; yellow bile, bilious; and black bile, sad. On the other hand, Burton was astonishingly close to present-day theories in his insistence on the relation between mind and body; and although his terminology is old, his description of the various states of melancholy is penetratingly accurate. Sir William Osler called *The Anatomy of Melancholy* "a medical treatise, the greatest indeed written by a layman." (Osler's articles on Burton were published in the *Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings*, Vol. I, pp. 163-190.)

Books of "Anatomy" — the word meant "outline" — were greatly in vogue in the first half of the seventeenth century. Burton himself mentions the *Anatomy of Wit*, the *Anatomy of Popery*, the *Anatomy of Antinomy*, and the *Anatomy of Immortality*; there are twenty-odd other Anatomies, including *Arbusto*, the *Anatomy of Fortune*, 1584, by Robert Greene, and the *Anatomy of Absurditie*, 1589, by Thomas Nashe.

Burton's book had an instantaneous success. Four editions in folio, each containing further additions and alterations, were published during his life — in 1624, 1628, 1632, and 1638 — all by Cripps at Oxford. The same publisher issued two more editions in 1651 and 1660. The Library possesses a copy of the 1632 edition, containing the famous frontispiece by C. le Blon, which first appeared in the third edition: an engraving with figures representing the effects of melancholy from love, hypochondriasis, superstition, and madness, with emblems of jealousy and solitude, and with a portrait of the author.

Burton discussed his subject systematically. After a long introduction, explaining his reasons for writing, he divides his book into three "partitions," and each of these into "sections," "members," and "subsections." The first part deals with the causes and symptoms of melancholy, in general terms and then in detail. One of the myriad causes of melancholy is "love of learning, or over-much study":

. . . hard students are commonly troubled with goutes, catarres, rhumes, cacexia, bad eyes, stone and colicke, crudities, oppilations, vertigo, windes, crampes, consumptions, and all such diseases as come by ouer-much sitting; they are commonly leane, dry, ill coloured, spend their fortunes, loose their wits, and many times their liues, and all through immoderate paines, and extraordinary studies . . . for which after all their paines, in the worlds esteeme they are

accompted ridiculous, and silly fooles, Idiots, Asses and (as oft they are) reiected, contemned, and derided, doting, mad . . . Or if they keepe their wits, yet they are accompted fooles by reason of their cariage, because they cannot ride a horse, which every clowne can doe, salute and court a Gentlewoman, carue at table, cringe and make congies, which euery common swasher can doe . . . And many times such is their misery, they deserue it : a meere Scholler, a meere Asse.

The second part, which deals with the cure of melancholy, is a quaint compendium of old remedies. Burton describes the healthful properties of "physickes," herbs, potions, "electuaries"; the nature of "simples" and "compounds"; and the influence of precious stones. He also considers the "chirurgicall remedies" — blood-letting, cauteries, hot irons, and, in desperate cases, the boring of holes in the head "to let out fumes." The third part, which treats of love, is especially long and elaborate. Naturally so, since the stories of all the great lovers of history and legend are retold.

Besides his masterpiece, Burton wrote little else — an amusing Latin comedy, *The Philosophaster*, 1615, and a few Latin poems. A lifetime of scholarship went into the writing of his one book. He had access to the Bodleian and Christ Church libraries and, evidently, read incessantly. He was familiar with the great classical authors from Aristotle and Plato to Ovid and Lucretius; with European scholars such as Erasmus and Scaliger; and with English writers such as Chaucer, Spenser, Marlowe, and Sir Thomas More. He dived into books on geography, magic, and science. In manner and temper his chief guides were Montaigne and Rabelais — and Sebastian Brant. The outline of his book was patterned after Timothy Bright's *Treatise of Melancholie*, published in 1586.

Burton's device of using italics to indicate his quotations, paraphrases, and scraps of Latin poetry, together with his involved marginal notes, give his book a forbidding aspect. The reader, however, soon finds that his humor and homey vigor transform what might have been a dull treatise into a source of never-ending delight. Many writers have been influenced by the work. Sterne's indebtedness to Burton is obvious. Keats used an anecdote from the section on love as the basis for his *Lamia*. Lamb successfully imitated Burton's style in the appendix to his tragedy of *John Woodvil*. *The Anatomy of Melancholy* has received generous praises; but perhaps the greatest tribute of all was paid to it by Samuel Johnson, who said it was the only book that ever took him out of bed two hours sooner than he intended to rise.

The Second Siege of Louisburg

LOCATED on Cape Breton island, Louisburg, once the second most important city of Canada, was of strategic importance during the eighteenth-century wars between France and England. In 1745 it was the scene of a successful American attack, and in 1758 it was conquered by English forces which wrought great destruction in the city.

The Library has recently acquired a copy of an eye-witness account of the final British victory, entitled *An Authentic Account of the Reduction of Louisburg in June and July 1758*. Published in London the same year, it was written by an anonymous Englishman. The book is a day-by-day report of the siege and includes interesting battle plans and lists.

The British forces were overwhelmingly larger — a fact which is glossed over by the author, who was anxious to attribute the victory solely to their bravery. The siege lasted from June 8 to July 26, when the French garrison finally surrendered. The fortress was advantageously situated and impregably fortified, and the French had been carefully preparing for the attack:

They had accordingly posted themselves along the Shore to the Number of more than 3000 Regulars, Irregulars, and a few of the native *Indians*, in all the probable Places of landing, behind a very strong *Breast-work* . . . All the Approaches to the *Front-Lines* were rendered so extremely difficult by the *Trees* they had laid very thick together upon the Shore . . . But very few of the Guns on their Lines were to be distinguished out of the Reach of their Metal; the rest were artfully concealed from our View with *Spruce Branches*.

The British attack was a combined military and naval operation, the land forces being led by General Jeffrey Amherst and the navy by Admiral Boscawen. Soldiers and officers totaled over 14,000, while the number of ships of the line and frigates was forty-one. Chevalier de Drucour, "Governor of the Island of Cape Breton, of Louisbourg and of the Island of St. John, and their Appurtenances," signed the Articles of Capitulation. The figures in this book reveal that 5,637 of the French were made prisoners and an estimated 2,400 were killed in the course of the siege.

General Wolfe, later immortalized by his part in the battle of Quebec, was the hero of the English forces. Having distinguished himself throughout the campaign for his bravery, and known especially for his surprise attacks, he was feared by the enemy, who said of him: "There is no Certainty where to find him — but, where-

ever he goes, he carries with him a *Mortar* in one Pocket, and a 24 pounder in the other." The author praises "the truly *English Spirit*" of the "brave Attempt," and he scornfully tells of the low French morale, saying that "no Parties could be found in the *Garrison*, forward enough to go on Service, without being first animated by a sufficient Quantity of *Wine*."

The author also extols the "Humanity and Generosity of our Commanders in Chiefs towards its Garrison and Inhabitants." He could not have known at that time that two years later the British were to order the complete demolition of the city. Today a small fishing village stands on the site of the famous fortress.

MARY ROBERTSON

A French Biographer of the Renaissance

THE Library has recently acquired a copy of the *Des Vrais Portraits et Vies des Hommes Illustres* by André Thevet — a large folio work, printed in Paris by the widow of Jacques Kerver and Guillaume Chaudière in 1584 in three volumes. The biographies — and there are no less than 236 of them — are arranged in eight "books"; almost all of them are accompanied by beautiful copper engravings, each occupying the larger part of a page.

Thevet, born in Angoulême in 1502, was a "cordelier" or Franciscan friar. His portrait, which appears as the second in the series (the first is that of Henri III, "King of France and Poland," to whom the work is dedicated), does not, however, show the monk but the secularized, genial courtier that he became. Above all, Thevet was an inveterate traveller, he himself proudly referring to the "voyages and distant peregrinations" that he continued for over twenty-three years. Sponsored by the Cardinal de Lorraine, he went to Palestine and on his return wrote his *Cosmographie du Levant*, published in 1554 at Lyons. The following year he accompanied the Chevalier de Villegagnon to Brazil, where the latter intended to found a French colony. Thevet's stay in the New World was brief, perhaps because of illness and perhaps because the Chevalier turned to Calvinism; yet his observations on the life of the Indians resulted in the earliest French book on America, *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique, autrement Nommé Amerique*, printed in Paris in 1558. (The Library has a copy of the Antwerp edition of that year.) Two years later Thevet, having obtained his secularization, was made chaplain to Catherine de Medici, as well as cosmo-

grapher and historiographer to Henry II. In 1575 appeared his *Cosmographie Universelle*, to which *Les Vrais Pourtraits* forms a kind of sequel. Finally he received the title of "Custodian of the Curiosities of the King," and was also awarded the abbey of Masdion, probably by Charles IX, to whom, as he writes, he was often called "to explain some difficulty that the King had with maps and strange countries." In the sunshine of royal favor, and counting the poets of the *Pléiade* as his friends, Thevet flourished to the age of eighty-eight, leaving copious manuscripts at his death in 1590.

In the preface of his edition of the *Singularitez de la France Antarctique* (Paris 1878), Paul Gaffarel mentions one of the numerous "plagiarisms" inflicted on Thevet. According to him, it was Thevet who introduced into France the precious tobacco plant, naming it after his home *l'herbe angoumoisine*. But credit for the discovery wrongfully went to Jean Nicot de Villemain, French ambassador to Portugal, who had received seeds of the American plant from a Flemish merchant and presented them to Catherine de Medici, whereupon it was called *nicotine*.

The engravings make an impressive gallery. The subjects are generally accompanied by symbols: Strabo with a globe, Archimedes with a compass, Amerigo Vespuccio with a portolan map, and so on. Of course, most of them are imaginary. However, Thevet assures us that he visited "the greater part of the cabinets and libraries, both French and foreign," and often he tells how he came by a portrait. He informs us, for instance, that "the very virtuous Dame Jeanne de Montmorency, widow of the late Loys de la Trimouville," sent him a picture.

The first three books are devoted to the philosophers and theologians, largely of Antiquity. The last five present mostly warriors and sea-captains, jurists and orators, authors and scholars, physicians and scientists — a wide miscellany of distinguished or curious characters down to Nacolabsou, King of the Cannibals of the Cape of Good Hope. But it is to the biographies of the contemporaries and near-contemporaries that one turns with interest; thus of the more than seventy personages belonging to French history, the accounts of those who lived in the turbulent sixteenth century have a special historical value. And the same is true of the biographies of Englishmen, Italians, and men of other nationalities.

The story of Bishop Fisher's martyrdom is enlivened by eyewitness reports. "I can assure the reader," Thevet states, "that I have conferred with Englishmen and Scotchmen who have spoken with him and have seen him led ignominiously to his torment." And

then he adds: "When I was on the Island of Crete . . . I saw about sixty English people banished from their country because of the Catholic religion, led by a Count of their nation, most of them having listened to Fisher."

It is in the biography of Charles IX that the history of the Huguenot troubles unfolds, culminating in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, "in which was killed that great and wise world figure, Gaspar de Coligny, one of the most dreaded warriors of his age," as the King's chaplain chivalrously writes. "I do not want here to discuss the merits of such an execution . . .," he goes on, "only I regret the multitude of innocent souls who did not know what that new Reformation was, and who were subjected to the rigor of that day. I have known several of them who, being good Catholics, were murdered solely because of being tagged with the name of Huguenot."

Thevet, the one-time friar, gloried in the exploits of the numerous military leaders whose lives he chronicled, especially of those noblemen who fought for François I and fell in the disastrous battle of Pavia. Among them were the Seigneur de Bonnivet, Admiral of France; Jacques de Chabannes, Sieur de la Palisse; and Odet de Foix, Sieur de Lautrec. We see the Seigneur de Bayard, "the chevalier without fear and without reproach," who was asked by François to knight his king — and also his opposite, the traitor Charles de Bourbon, whom the author long hesitated to include.

Of considerable interest are the chapters on Pizzaro and Cortez. In the former, Thevet assails "a little book on the tyrannies and cruelties perpetrated by the Spaniards in the New World" — Bartolommeo de las Casas's *Destrucción de las Indias* — which he describes as "small tracts of falsity used by those who, fearing for their skins, do not dare tell such things under their own names." The good chaplain thought that the benefits bestowed on the natives, through the extirpation of idolatry, outweighed the sufferings inflicted upon them by their savage conquerors.

MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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APRIL 1950

The Puritans as Missionaries

By IRVING H. BARTLETT

THE early settlers of New England professed a strong moral obligation to bring the fruits of the Gospel to the savage and wretched brethren they were so soon to replace. Increase Mather liked to think of the Plymouth Colony as conceived in the glow of missionary zeal. "In *Anno* 1620," he wrote, "a company of Christians belonging to the *Northern parts of England*, who proposed not so much worldly as spiritual ends in their undertaking, ayiming at the *Conversion* of the *Indians*, and the establishment of the worship of God in purity, did therefore transport themselves and families into this Howling wilderness."¹ What the Pilgrims had started, the Puritans would continue. They were bound to a charter maintaining that to "incite the natives of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and saviour of mankinde and the Christian faith" was the principal end of their plantation.²

Some of them believed that the Puritans had been chosen to carry the word abroad. Thomas Shepard thought that the experience of the Puritans, whom God had directed to New England in order to "make them *instruments* to draw soules to him, who had been so long *estranged* from him,"³ was comparable to that of Paul, who was shipwrecked at Melita so that he might preach to the heathen.

It is well-known that many Puritans suspected that the In-

dians were descended from one of the lost tribes of Israel. Daniel Gookin was inclined to accept this theory, although he admitted the possibility that they more closely resembled the "tawny Moors of Africa."⁴ If the Indians were remnants of a Jewish tribe, this fact would reinforce the need for an energetic policy of conversion, for God would have the lost lambs led back into the fold. But such a speculation was of no great importance to Gookin, John Eliot, and Thomas Mayhew, who, with little help from their brothers, actually worked to bring the Indians to God. To them, the Indians were human beings destined for damnation unless they could be brought to Christ:

But this may upon sure grounds be asserted, that they are Adam's posterity, and consequently children of wrath, and hence are not only objects of all Christians' piety and compassion, but subjects upon which our faith, prayers, and best endeavors should be put forth to reduce them from barbarism to civility, but especially to rescue them out of the bondage of Satan, and bring them to Salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ.⁵

Despite the declared intention of the founders of the Colony, little or no missionary activity was evident among the Puritans before 1646. In October of that year, Eliot and three companions went to the Indians near Roxbury, "with desire to make known the things of their peace to them." In his first sermon, Eliot limited himself to a discussion of the joys of heaven and the terrors of hell, "not meddling with any matters more difficult, and which to such weake ones might at first seeme ridiculous, until they had tasted and beleevved more plaine and familiar truths." This tendency to stick to the basic truths in doctrine when dealing with the Indians was to remain with Eliot. Fortunately, he was disposed to see the problem realistically. After concluding his sermon with "a dolefull description . . . of the trembling and mourning condition of every soul that dies in sinne," he passed out tobacco among the men and apples among the children.

Recognizing that the barrier of language had to be overcome before the Gospel could effectively be presented to the Indians, Eliot endeavored to learn their language. When he returned to them, he spoke Indian. This undoubtedly impressed the savages. That they did comprehend Eliot's message is proved by

the acute questions put to him after the sermon. One Indian desired to know if God understood Indian as well as English prayers; another asked if the English were ever as ignorant as the Indians; still another inquired why God should have made the Indians different from the English.⁶ Eliot's answer is significant, for it reveals an enlightened attitude toward an alien race. He said that both Englishmen and Indians were children of Adam, and that the difference lay in the fact that the English had repented, while the forefathers of the Indians had been stubborn and rebellious. Except for repentance, prayer, and industry, the Indians were already like the English. "Would they but doe as wee doe in these things, they would be all one with *English men*."⁷

Eliot was quick to see that his efforts to Christianize the Indians could be successful only if they were accompanied by measures to bring them into a civil state. Accordingly, in November 1646, the Indians to whom he had first preached came together with certain of the Puritans to draw up a code of laws which would govern their community. Thomas Shepard has left a record of these laws, a few of which may be noted:

They desire they may understand the wiles of Satan, and grow out of love with his suggestions, and temptations.

That they pay their debts to the *English*.

That there shall not be allowance to *pick Lice*, as formerly, and eate them, and whoever shall offend in this case shall pay for every louse a penny.

Whoever shall commit adultery shall be put to death.

No *Indian* shall come into any *English* mans house except he first knock: and this they expect from the *English*.⁸

As Eliot's missionary labors increased, the need for a more comprehensive system of government became obvious. Acting on his recommendation, the General Court in 1656 appointed Daniel Gookin as magistrate over Indian affairs. This was a good move, for Gookin was a strong man and a zealous disciple of Eliot. His principal duties were to advise the Indian leaders and to oversee the affairs of Indian towns and lands. As he himself related:

There are sundry other things done by him — for promoting and practicing morality, civility, industry, and diligence in their particu-

lar callings: for idleness and improvidence are the Indians' great sin — which by good example and wholesome laws, gradually applied, with God's blessing, may be rooted out.⁹

The missionaries planned to organize all the Indians who were willing to submit to the discipline of Christian life into "praying towns." In 1674 Gookin wrote that there were fourteen such communities in Massachusetts, with 1100 souls yielding obedience to the Gospel. The most prosperous was Natick, where the first Indian church was established in 1660.

Concerning the government of the Indian towns, Eliot favored a pure theocracy in which all authority would be derived from the Scriptures:

They should look only unto the Scriptures and out of the word of God fetch all their Wisdom, Lawes, and Government, and so shall they be the Lord's people, and the Lord above shall reign over them, and governe them in all things by the word of his mouth.¹⁰

Eliot's ideas were too extreme, even for the Puritans; and when his political treatise *The Christian Commonwealth* was published in London in 1659, it caused considerable embarrassment to the leaders of the Colony who were trying to reconcile themselves to the Restoration. As a Puritan theorist, the Apostle to the Indians was too consistent; with Christ on the throne and the Scriptures as the fundamental law, there was no place for Charles II. Copies of the treatise were ordered destroyed, and John Eliot was forced to sign a recantation.¹¹

THE object of the praying towns was to bring the Indians together into stable communities, where they might be more readily instructed in the Bible and in reading their own language. Gookin hoped that, as they became more civilized, the more promising might be taken into Puritan homes as servants to learn the finer points of Christian living.¹² Those showing outstanding ability would be sent to Harvard from where they might return as teachers of their own people. Unfortunately, this hope was never realized, to the great discouragement of the missionaries who believed that "God is wont ordinarily to convert Nations and peoples by some of their owne country men who are nearest to them."¹³



Supposed Portrait of Eliot by an Unknown Painter

Reading the Puritan tracts concerned with Indian relations, one realizes that psychological weapons were not unknown in the seventeenth century. God was on the Puritans' side, and they never failed to attribute their victories to His will. During the infancy of the Plymouth colony, Miles Standish had surprised the plotting Wesseagusquaset Indians and driven them to the swamps where they became ravaged by disease. For Increase Mather the incident was an early sign of divine providence. "And these signal appearances of God for His *Church* in *Plymouth*, must needs be a great conviction to the Heathen," he wrote.¹⁴

The terrible defeat of the Pequot Indians must have been another source of "great conviction to the heathen." Over four hundred warriors were trapped by the Puritans and burned to death within their palisade. Here again was the Divine Hand seen:

... for the Lord burnt them up in the fire of his wrath, & dunged the ground with their flesh, it was the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.¹⁵

This was the kind of reasoning that the Indians could understand. The white man's God was strong, and the charred bodies of the savages bore witness to His vengeance.

The apparent immunity of the Puritans to certain diseases was also attributed to the favor of God. Mather thought it was His method of preparing for them a highway in the wilderness. "These did God own, having wonderfully made way for their planting here by casting out the Heathen before them, with mortal Diseases . . ."¹⁶ The missionaries were quick to make good use of such evidence. A group of Indians near one of the praying towns continuously obstructed Eliot's work, heaping abuse and ridicule on their Christian brothers. These scornful Indians were struck down with a plague, while the praying Indians went untouched. Eliot wrote:

Now it pleased God that this company of wicked Indians, were smitten with the Pox, and sundry cut off, and those which were cut off, were of the worst and mischievous of them all; which Providences, all the good Indians do take a great notice of, and doth say that the Lord hath wrought a wonder for them.¹⁷

A similar incident took place on Martha's Vineyard, where Hi-

acoombes, who assisted Thomas Mayhew, was untouched by the plague that swept over the island in 1646. Mayhew, too, noted that the praying Indians were affected less severely than the unbelievers, and this fact gave the survivors good reason for considering the white man's God with new respect.¹⁸

The Puritans' knowledge of medicine also exerted a strong psychological effect on the heathens. When Governor Bradford cured Chief Massasoit with a simple physic, the Indians were very much impressed and a crisis in the relations between the Indians and the Pilgrims was avoided. In like manner Thomas Mayhew made a major conquest when he successfully bled an Indian whom the witch doctors had condemned.¹⁹ The respect and fear which the Indians had for their pow-wows and witch doctors was a great obstacle to their conversion, and Eliot realized that whatever success the Puritans might have in treating Indian bodies would also go far toward saving their souls. A medical missionary was, of course, out of the question, but the thought occurred to the progressive John Eliot.²⁰

A third factor which may have influenced Indian conversion was the striking economic disparity between the settlers and the natives. It will not do to labor this point too much. The cultures of the two groups were different, and it was often true that what the English thought necessary the Indians thought ridiculous. Nevertheless, Mayhew observed that wealth was one of the things in which his Indians were interested. As for the Puritans, riches often accompanied religion and diligence. Thus, Gookin thought it natural that the Gospel should make good progress among the Indians on Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket Island:

The truth is, the Indians, both upon the vineyard and Nantucket are poor, and according as scripture saith do more readily receive the gospel and become religious. The rules of religion teach them to be diligent and industrious; and the diligent hand maketh rich, and adds no sorrow to it.²¹

THERE were several forces working to frustrate the efforts of Eliot and his associates. In the first place, the Indians were not as tractable as the Puritans had hoped. Essentially a hunting and fishing people, they were inclined to resist the stable

life which the missionaries wished to impose upon them. They were a nomadic people, and agriculture was thought to be lowly work, fit only for women. Eliot believed that his charges progressed slowly because they had neither the tools nor the skill for building permanent settlements and carrying on extensive agricultural cultivation.

Not only were the mass of Indians unsuited to the white man's way of life, but even the most promising converts were unable to make the necessary adjustment. Consumption cut down almost all the Indians who were sent to Harvard College and most of those who were closely associated with the English. Gookin remarked that many of the Puritans thought the disease was sent by God to show that He was not yet ready to admit the Indians into the Kingdom. Others believed it was Satan's handiwork, but the dogged Gookin was only led to conclude that these difficulties were no more "than did usually attend and accompany all good designs, tending to the glory of God and the salvation of souls; whereof plentiful examples are recorded in holy scriptures."²²

There were numerous powerful Indian tribes which remained hostile to the new religion, a fact which made many potential converts hesitate. This was one of the most persistent obstacles which Thomas Mayhew encountered among the island Indians. It has been asserted that Eliot's efforts actually tended to inflame the Indian mind against the settlers by breaking up the old tribal relations, while at the same time strengthening the tactical position of the Puritans.²³ To a strategist like Philip, who saw the necessity for maintaining a common front against a common enemy, the Puritans' attempts to establish praying towns must have seemed the most vicious kind of infiltration. Philip himself felt nothing but contempt for Christianity, if one may believe Cotton Mather's story:

... our *Eliot* made a Tender of the *Everlasting Salvation* to that King; but the Monster entertain'd it with Contempt and Anger, and after the *Indian* mode of joining *Signs* with *Words*, he took a *Button* upon the *Coat* of the Reverend Man, adding, *That he cared for his Gospel, just as much as he cared for that Button.*²⁴

It should be remarked that the Puritans were not averse to making their lambs serve as wolves if there were need; for on

one occasion, several years before the war with Philip, a sum of twenty pounds from the missionary fund was expended to provide the friendly Indians with gunpowder to be used against unfriendly Indians farther to the west.²⁵ Such activity undoubtedly sharpened the antagonism between the praying Indians and the unbelievers.

The difficulty of learning the Indian language was partly responsible for keeping the number of missionaries small. Only Eliot and a few others overcame the handicap. To translate English into the Indian language was an extremely complicated task. To quote an example: the Indian counterpart of "our lusts" read *nummatchekodtantamooonganunnonash*.²⁶ Thus one may appreciate Eliot's achievement in preparing an Indian grammar and in translating the English Bible into such a language.

However, if the difference in language had been the greatest barrier, the story of Christianizing the Indians might have had a different ending. Unfortunately, there never did exist a congenial relationship between Puritan and Indian; and the smouldering hatreds between them erupted in a last great war destroying everything for which Eliot and his associates had labored. King Philip's war turned Puritan hearts black and set them against all Indians. Eliot's flock was not to be excepted. Not sure of the praying Indians' loyalty, the authorities took two of their chief's sons as hostages. But this soon proved unsatisfactory, for they could not "know a heathen from a Christian by his visage nor apparel."²⁷ In August 1675, the council ordered all praying Indians to remain close to their villages. In the meantime, eight of Eliot's charges were captured and accused of aiding the enemy. Gookin and Eliot protested vigorously but to no avail. Eliot was perhaps shown some deference because of his position in the church, but the blunt-spoken Gookin exasperated the court, until it was made clear to him that he might make a better prisoner than a magistrate. Through some treachery, in which both Eliot and Gookin were suspected, several of the prisoners escaped. This enraged the people of Boston even more, and a plot to lynch the remaining Indians was barely averted. Finally the court decided that one of the prisoners should be executed:

He was led by a rope about his neck to the gallows . . . the execu-

tioners . . . flung one end over the post, and so hoisted him up like a dog, three or four times, he being yet half alive and half dead, then came an Indian, a friend of his, and with his knife made a hole in his heart, and sucked out his heart-blood.²⁸

Apparently the onlookers derived some pious satisfaction in allowing the savage rite.

Shortly after this incident, a number of the praying Indians were ordered to a desolate island in Boston harbor. The removal was accomplished peacefully enough, but it was a great blow to Eliot. In a letter to Robert Boyle, the great physicist and governor of the London corporation which supervised the missionary funds, he described the setback which had overtaken him:

I must change my ditty now, I have much to write of lamentation over the work of Christ among the praying Indians. The work . . . is under great sufferings . . . It is (as it were) dead but not buried.

There be 350 souls or thereabouts put upon a bleak bare island, the fittest we have, where they suffer hunger and cold. There is neither food nor competent fuel to be had, and they are bare in clothing because they cannot be received to work for clothing as they were wont to do. Our rulers are careful to order them food but it is so hard to be performed that they suffer much.²⁹

Although the Indians might starve in their concentration camp, they were safer than those left behind. The Indians living in the little town of Wamesit were set upon by a group of English who killed one Indian child, wounded four women, and drove the rest into the wilderness.³⁰ If such treatment seemed unnecessary to Eliot, who thought that his Indians could be trusted, most of the Puritans were satisfied that justice had been done.

Barbarous actions were common to both sides. Two disabled white men, making their way through the woods, were set upon by a group of Indian women who "beat out their brains and cut off their privy members which they carried away with them in triumph."³¹ This lack of the virtues of "pity and modesty" was not restricted to Indian women. In Marblehead a group of Indian prisoners, being convoyed through the town, was attacked by a number of Puritan housewives, who soon "got the Indians into their own hands, and with stones and billets, and what not else, made an end of them. In short, they literally tore them to pieces."³²

Toward the end of the war it was discovered that the praying Indians could be used to good advantage as scouts. It was unfortunate that this was discovered so late; for, although the English were often confused by Indian manoeuvres in the swamps and woods, they had little trouble defeating the enemy once they found him. The Puritans were tardy in finding an ally in the Indian. They had been too ready to read "preying" for "praying" and the damage was done.³³

ALTHOUGH the war did a great harm to the progress of the Gospel among the Indians, there had been accomplishments worthy of attention. When Gookin wrote his report, there were some 1100 praying Indians in Massachusetts. The figures may be inaccurate, but the peak was apparently reached in 1684 with over 1400.³⁴ After this, the number of converts gradually decreased, partly because the Indians were decimated by disease, and partly because John Eliot died and much of the machinery he had established was wrecked by the war with King Philip. However, the achievement was substantial, considering that only a few of the Puritans had actually contributed to the missionary work.

Visitors to the praying towns were greatly impressed with the Indians' social conditions. The first thing which struck them was the Indians' improved standard of living. Thomas Shepard remarked on their clothes and their more adequate dwellings, which were partitioned to give privacy to those "who formerly were never private in what nature is ashamed of, either for the sun or any man to see."³⁵ John Endicott was amazed to learn that they had built a foot bridge over the Charles River which was firm enough to withstand flood and ice. The words "industrious" and "ingenious" flowed easily from his pen after he had seen these former savages construct houses in the English manner with only two days' instruction from an English carpenter.³⁶

Concerning spiritual matters, there were accounts equally fabulous. Thomas Mayhew quoted the example of the Indian, who, although he was almost killed by his enemy, refused to retaliate, forgiving the man "for the sake of God." "This is a singular thing," he wrote, "and who among the heathen will do

so?"³⁷ Thomas Shepard remarked the astute attention which the converts gave to the Gospel:

I have heard few Christians when they begin to looke toward God, make more searching questions that they might see things really, and not onely have a notion of them.³⁸

Eliot cited numerous examples of Christian piety among the Indians. His claims were apt to be extravagant, as witnessed by the following statement attributed to a dying Indian woman who was addressing her children:

I shall now dye, and when I am dead, your Grand-Father and Grand-mother, and Unckles, etc. will send for you to come live amongst them, and promise you great matters, and tell you what pleasant living it is among them; But do not beleeve them, and I charge you never to hearken unto them, nor live amongst them; for they pray not to God, keep not the Sabbath, commit all manner of sinnes and are not punished for it: but I charge you live here, for here they pray unto God, the word of God is taught, sins are suppressed, and punished by Lawes; And therefore I charge you live here all your dayes.³⁹

Other examples show that the Puritans had a taste for fiction. When Eliot writes of the two-year-old child who makes a pious little speech before she dies, our pity for the child is tempered by distaste for Puritan naiveté and arrogance. But such a story must have wrung many hearts, and perhaps also a few pounds from the brethren in England.

Fortunately, these examples of piety are lightened by humorous stories. One of the praying Indians wanted to know if he would break the sabbath by rekindling a dead fire; another wondered if he would call down God's wrath by capturing a treed racoon on the holy day. And then there were those who couldn't pay their gambling debts, because gambling was sinful — until their minister convinced them that refusing to pay a debt was also sinful.

John Eliot was never harsh with his flock. His was a ministry of love, and the Indians knew, regardless of what other white men might do, that he was their friend. One may catch a glimpse of their gratitude in Eliot's story:

... once when I was up in the Countrey, a poore creature came to me as I was about to take Horse, shaking me by the hand, and with

his other hand thrust something into my hand, I looked what it was, and it was a penny-worth of *Wampam*, upon a strawes end.⁴⁰

As the Gospel became accepted among the heathen, the problem arose concerning their admission into the exclusive ranks of God's elect. When Eliot thought they were ready, he transcribed the confessions of several of his more advanced charges and presented them to the leaders of the colony, recommending that if these Indians were found to have "a competent measure of understanding" in the basic points of religion, then, God and his saints willing, "they be called up unto Church-estate." The confessions were well received and a date was set for the examination: April 13, 1654. Preparations for the great event proceeded smoothly until, unaccountably, the devil appeared in three of the "unsound sort," who had gotten several quarts of "strong-water," and not only got drunk themselves but made the eleven-year-old son of their chief also inebriated. This was done in the hope that the chief would be afraid to punish them without disciplining his son. What made the scandal even more embarrassing was that one of these Godless creatures had assisted Eliot in translating the Bible. There was much groaning and moaning in Eliot's household when the calamity became known; but somehow he survived the ordeal, and "the Lord improved it to stir up faith and prayer."

It is difficult to know just what happened after the examination, or when the Indians were actually admitted to church membership. Eliot remarked that he had done what he could, but that he was "content to make slow hast in this matter, remembering that word of God, *Lay hands suddenly upon no man.*"⁴¹ There is no record of any argument opposed to the admission, but there must have been some who disapproved. It was difficult enough for a white man to join a church. Moreover, the admission of Indians to the church would carry with it serious implications. There would be no justifiable acts of violence against them on the grounds of their being savages; they would be entitled to the same respect as other church members. Such considerations must have entered the minds of those who guarded the gates, but one can only speculate on how they were resolved:

At length was a *Church-state* settled among them; They entered, as our Churches do, into an holy Covenant, wherein they *gave them-*

*selves, first unto the Lord, and then unto one another, to attend the Rules and Helps, and accept the Blessing of the Everlasting Gospel; and Mr. Eliot . . . accordingly Administered, first the Baptism, and then the Supper of the Lord unto them.*⁴²

The statement apparently refers to the establishment of a church at Natick, the first of the praying towns.⁴³ This ceremony must have been repeated, for Increase Mather mentioned in a letter to a theologian at the University of Utrecht, written in 1687, that there were six churches of baptized Indians.

Cotton Mather has preserved an interesting account of the Indian churches at Plymouth and Martha's Vineyard, where Puritan and Indian partook of the sacraments together:

These *Churches* are exact in their Admission, and so solemn in their Discipline, and so serious in their Communion, that some of the Christian *English* in the Neighborhood, which would have been loth to have mixed with them in a *civil* Relation, yet have gladly done it in a *Sacred* one.⁴⁴

This implies that membership in the Puritan church had nothing to do with social distinction; and that there existed among the Puritans a prejudice against the Indians which even their conversion could not erase. It would not be entirely accurate to speak of this as "race prejudice." It was more a matter of culture; the most frequent complaint of the Puritans was that the Indians were slothful and lazy. The cultural differences could easily be transformed into antagonism when the two groups were set off in competition for land, and such competition was inevitable; as the Puritan settlements expanded, the Indians were forced to give way. These factors did not make the missionary's task easier, and one cannot help thinking that, even though many Indians proved themselves acceptable to the brotherhood of the elect, they were considered to be saints of a lower order.

It was recognized at the time that the attempts to christianize the Indians were not remarkably successful in Massachusetts. Compared with the work of the Jesuit brothers, the accomplishment of John Eliot and his company appeared to be meager indeed. This was a sore point with the Puritans who were anxious to acquit themselves of the charge that they were inferior to the Catholics as missionaries. The usually soft-

spoken Eliot was indignant to think that his work should be compared unfavorably with that of the Catholic missionaries:

Wee are oft upbraided by some of our Countrymen that so little good is done by our professing planters upon the hearts of the Natives . . . if wee would force them to baptisme (. . . having learnt them a short answer or two to some Popish questions) or if wee would hire them to it by giving them coates and shirts . . . we could have gathered many hundreds, yea thousands it may bee by this time, into the name of Churches; but wee have not learnt as yet that art of coyning Christians . . .⁴⁵

Cotton Mather observed that Catholic missionaries were most active in areas where "beaver and silver" were to be gained, whereas the poor Puritans had to content themselves with naked souls and the "pure light of truth." It did not occur to the New Englanders that the ability of the French to mingle freely, and their willingness to intermarry with the Indians may have aided the Jesuits in their labors.

More familiar than Cotton Mather with the difficulties faced by the missionaries, Thomas Shepard felt obliged to interpret the results more moderately. Addressing the cynics, he wrote:

I know that some thinke all this worke among them is done and acted thus by the *Indians* to please the *English*, and for applause from them; and it is not unlikely, but so 'tis in many, who do but blaze for a time; but certainly 'tis not so in all, but that the power of the Word hath taken place in some, and that inwardly and effectually . . .⁴⁶

ALTHOUGH there is no evidence that the Puritan community, as a whole, made a serious effort to convert the Indians, it would be a mistake to attribute this to callousness, to the belief that "the only good Indian is a dead one." There was a natural antagonism toward the Indians, to be sure, but the Puritan leaders made a sincere attempt, at least in the early years, to extend justice to the natives. Cotton Mather pointed with justification to the fact that the General Court had passed laws protecting the Indians' rights to their lands. Examples of justice meted out in the courts to the benefit of Indians at the expense of the settlers were not uncommon. Winthrop noted in his Journal that within the space of three weeks three cases had come

up concerning relations between Indians and whites. The first resulted in the whipping of a white man who had abused a squaw. "Her husband and she complained of the wrong, and they were present at the execution and were satisfied." The second involved a gentleman and his two servants, all of whom were accused of stealing corn from the Indians. The court ordered the two servants whipped and the master fined five pounds, degraded from the title of gentleman, and obliged to restore what had been stolen two fold. The third related to the alleged murder of a white man by an Indian chief at Richman's Island, in which the court was urged to send a force against the Indian for purposes of revenge. Evidently no action was taken, the reason being, "He was a wicked fellow, and had much wronged the Indians."⁴⁷ The Puritan Fathers were not engaged in a conspiracy to cheat the Indians at every turn.

Despite this apparent concern for justice, and despite the fact that the authorities in the colony paid glowing tribute to Eliot's work, their assistance rarely exceeded that of lip service. Almost without exception, the money spent in the missionary work came out of Eliot's own pocket, or was sent to him by the Corporation for the Promotion and Propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England. This association, properly termed "the organization with the long name" by Professor S. E. Morison, was maintained in England for the purpose of providing means for the work in America. Eliot's relations were often more harmonious with the Corporation than with the commissioners in New England. On more than one occasion he wrote the Corporation that the commissioners were loath to part with money for his work, although they had been designated to oversee the expenditure of funds for this purpose. Eliot was so insistent that the Corporation felt obliged to rebuke their New England representatives for not allowing "competent maintenance to Mr. Eliot and others" in their labors.⁴⁸ Undoubtedly, the Puritans could have spared more material assistance to their own missionaries. But Eliot had to look elsewhere for support. He secured funds only through his "turbulent and clamorous proceedings" to the Corporation, and his Indian Bible was financed by Robert Boyle in England.⁴⁹

It has been maintained that when they came to New England

the Puritans left behind them the evangelical zeal of the early reformers and sought to assure salvation only for themselves and their children. Ultimately, this spiritual inbreeding weakened the Puritan church and contributed to its collapse.⁵⁰ An examination of the Puritans' missionary efforts supports this contention. If the spiritual welfare of the unregenerate members within the Puritan community was slighted, how much more reason was there for ignoring the salvation of the savages!

The Puritan missionaries were devoted men. They accomplished all that a few zealous disciples could accomplish, but their path was a lonely path. The Colony as a whole had more pressing business.

Notes

As one would expect, the Prince Collection in the Boston Public Library is extremely rich in first editions of works relating to the Indians. But the Library's possessions in the field were further enlarged by the acquisition of a considerable part of the Barlow Collection in 1890. In fact, all the volumes mentioned in this article bear the Barlow bookplate.

The Library's books on the Indians include some of the greatest rarities, among them a complete set of Eliot's Indian Tracts. Most of these works have been reprinted, notably in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society; but no reprint can communicate the flavor of the original editions. The present writer is grateful to the Library authorities for permission to use these volumes.

1. Increase Mather, *A Relation of the Troubles . . . in New-England*, Boston 1677, 5.

2. William Macdonald, ed., *Documentary Source Book of American History*, New York 1929, 26.

3. Thomas Shepard, *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel*, London 1648. The quotation is taken from the dedication addressed to the Parliament in England.

4. Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England*, (Preface dated November 1674), in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, first series, I (1792), 146.

5. *Ibid.*, 147.

6. John Eliot, *Day-Breaking . . . of the Gospel*, London 1647, 1, 2, 7, 8, 10.

7. Eliot, in Shepard, *op. cit.*, 17.

8. Shepard, *op. cit.*, 4-5.

9. Gookin, *op. cit.*, 178.

10. Eliot, Henry Whitfield, ed., *Strength out of Weakness*, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, third series, IV (1834), 171.

11. The Boston Public Library has a copy of *The Christian Commonwealth, or The Civil Policy of the Rising Kingdom of Jesus Christ*. The title-page further reads: "Written Before the Interruption of the Government, by Mr. John Eliot, Teacher of the Church of Christ at Roxbury in New-England. And now Published (after his consent given) by a Server of the Season." The imprint is: London: Printed for *Livewell Chapman*, at the Crown in Popes-Head-Alley.

Listing the item, Sabin adds the following annotation: The original edition is almost unique. It is reprinted in "Mass. Hist. Coll.," Vol. IX, Third Series. "On the 18th of March, 1660, the Governor and Council of Massachusetts passed a formal judgment of condemnation against this book, as they found it 'ful of seditious principles and notions.' It was most rigorously suppressed, and Eliot was forced by the General Court, in the following May, to hand in a humiliating written recantation, which was posted in the public places of all the chief towns of the Colony." See Francis' *Life of Eliot*.

12. Gookin, *op. cit.*, 219.

13. Eliot, *Day-Breaking of the Gospel*, London 1647, 16.

14. Increase Mather, *op. cit.*, 17.

15. John Allyn, quoted in Increase Mather, *op. cit.*, 36.

16. Increase Mather, *op. cit.*, 22.

17. Eliot, Henry Whitfield, ed., *The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day*, London 1651, 21.

18. *Ibid.*, 5.

19. Mayhew, Edward Winslow, ed, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel*, London 1649, 4.

20. Eliot, in Shepard, *op. cit.*, 25.

21. Gookin, *op. cit.*, 206.

22. Gookin, *op. cit.*, 174.

23. George W. Ellis and John E. Morris, *King Philip's War*, New York 1906, 23.

24. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, London 1702, III, 199.

25. *Correspondence of the New England Company with John Eliot*, London 1896, 20.

26. Cotton Mather, *op. cit.*, Book III, 193.

27. Samuel Drake, ed., *Old Indian Chronicle*, Boston 1868, 136.

28. *Ibid.*, 151.

29. *Correspondence of the New England Company with John Eliot*, 52.

30. *Ibid.*, 53.

31. *Ibid.*, 218.

32. William Hubbard, *The History of the Indian Wars in New England*, Samuel Drake, ed., Roxbury, Mass. 1865, I, 237, footnote.

33. Drake, *Old Indian Chronicle*, 33.

34. Gookin, *op. cit.*, 201, footnote.

35. Shepard, *op. cit.*, 32.

36. John Endicott, Whitfield, ed., *Strength Out of Weakness*, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, third series, IV (1834), 191.

37. John Eliot and Jonathan Mayhew, *Tears of Repentance*, London 1653.

The quotation is from Mayhew's letter to the Corporation in London.

38. Shepard, *op. cit.*, 7.
39. Eliot, Winslow, ed., *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel*, London, 1649, 7.
40. Eliot, Winslow, ed., *ibid.*, 11.
41. Eliot, *A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel*, London 1655, 4, 6, 21.
42. Cotton Mather, *op. cit.*, III, 198.
43. The first church headed by Indian officers is said to have been organized by Thomas Mayhew on Martha's Vineyard in 1670. "It is a startling fact that for nearly half a century after the settlement of the island of Nantucket, the only Christian churches in the community were those gathered among the Indians." Lloyd Hare, *Thomas Mayhew, Patriarch to Indians*, 1932, 197.
44. Cotton Mather, *op. cit.*, III, 199.
45. Eliot, *Day-Breaking of the Gospel*, London 1647, 15.
46. Shepard, *op. cit.*, 37.
47. John Winthrop, *History of New England*, James Savage, ed., 1825, 60, 61, 62.
48. *The New England Company of 1649 and John Eliot*, Prince Society, 1920, xxv.
49. Boyle served as Governor of the Corporation in England for many years. Evidence of his substantial contributions to Eliot's work may be found in their correspondence. See Eliot, "Letters to Hon. Robert Boyle 1670-1688" in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, III (1810), 181-187.
50. Edmund Morgan, *The Puritan Family*, Boston Public Library, 1944, 90-104.

Dissenters and Recusants

By ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

EVEN before the new Prayer Book came into effect on June 24, 1559, Elizabeth availed herself of the right granted her by the Act of Uniformity: "yf ther shall happen any Contempte or Irreverence to be used in the Ceremonies or Rites of the Church by the misusing of thorders appointed in this Booke, the Queenes Ma^{tie} maye . . . ordeyne and publishe suche further Ceremonies or Rites as maye bee most for thadvancement of Goddes glorye."¹ Upon her request, the revisors of the Prayer Book prepared a series of royal *Iniunctions*,² for "the suppression of Superstition" and "to plant true religion, to the extirpation of all Hypocrisie, enormities, and abuses."³ The document was printed, in book form, in 1559 by Jugge, and reprinted six times in the same year by Jugge and Cawood.⁴

There were fifty-three items in the series, twenty-six of which were copied from the *Iniunctions* of 1547. The additions were of varying importance. The 29th item allowed ministers to marry as before; it made, however, the requirements much more stringent. Thereafter, the special permission of the Bishop and two justices of peace had to be obtained; and the marriages of the bishops themselves had to be approved by the metropolitan of the province and by specially appointed royal commissioners. Other orders forbade maintaining "heresies, errours, or false doctrine"; the use of "charmes, sorceries, enchauntmentes, witchcraft, soothsaying, or any such like deuillish deuce"; and the serving of drink in the alehouses during the time of common prayer. The 49th item related to singing in the church. The Queen had kind words for "the laudable science of Musicke," and found it desirable that "there be a modest and distinct Song so used in all partes of the common praier in the Church that the same maie be as plainely understood as if it were read without singing." She further decreed that "in the beginning, or in the end of the common praier, either at morning or euening, there may be sung an Himne, or suche like Song . . . in the best sorte of melodie and Musike that maie be conueniently deuised."

The 51st item was of great significance, establishing as it did a strict censorship over the printing of religious books. It read:

Because there is a greate abuse in the Printers of Bookes, which for couetousnesse cheefly regard not what thei print, so thei may haue gaine, whereby ariseth great disorder by publication of vnfruitful, vaine, and infamous Bookes and Papers, the Queenes Maiestie straightly chargeth and commandeth, that no maner of person shal print any maner of booke or paper, of what sorte, nature, or in what language soeuer it be, except the same be first licensed by her Maiestie, by expresse words in writing, or by sixe of her priuie Councell: or be perused and licenced by the Archbishopps of Canterburie and Yorke, the Bishop of London, the Chauncelors of both Uniuersities . . .

Not to allow any loop-holes, the injunction added that "many pamphlets, plaies and ballads" also might contain things "hereticall, sedicious, or unseemely for Christian eares," emphatically including under the order "all other bookes of matters of Religion or pollicie, or gouernance, that hath bin printed either on this side the Seas, or on the other side." However, this was to be only a religious censorship. "These orders," it added, "doe not extende to any prophane aucthours, and workes in any language that hath been heretofore commonly receiued or allowed in any of the Uniuersities or Schooles, but the same may be printed and used as by good order thei were accustomed."

It has been noted that the Prayer Book of 1559 omitted the "black rubric," the note which declared that no adoration was involved in kneeling during Communion. Now item 52 enjoined:

It is to bee necessarily receiued, that in time of the Letanie, and al other Collects, and common supplications to almightie God, all maner of people shall deuoutly and humbly kneele vpon their knees, and giue eare thereunto. And that whensoever the name of Iesus shall be in any Lesson, Sermon, or otherwise in the Church pronounced, that due reuerence be made of al persons yong and old, with lowlinesse of courtesie, and uncouering of heads of the menkind.

The *Iniunctions* ended with several general statements. One referred to the oath of allegiance, admonishing "simple men" not to be deceived by the malicious about its nature. Another prescribed that the holy table in every church be decently made and set in the place where the altar stood; and that "the sacramental bread be made and fourmed plaine, without any figure thereuppon, of the same finesse and fashion rounde, though

somewhat bigger in compasse, and thickenesse, as the usuall bread and wafer, heretofore named singyng Cakes.”⁵ The form of bidding was to begin with a prayer “for Christes holy Catholique church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people, dispersed through out the whole world, and specially for the Church of England and Ireland.” Finally the Queen charged her clergy and “all her louyng subiectes” to observe these injunctions “vpon paine of depriuation, sequestration of fruites and benefites, suspension, excommunication, and suche other cohertion.”⁶

THE promulgation of the Thirty-Nine Articles completed the Elizabethan Settlement. The development of this formulary of faith was slow. Soon after the rejection of the papal supremacy, the need for a set of doctrines became evident. Thus the Ten Articles were published in 1536, dealing with the fundamentals of religion, the sacraments of baptism, penance, and the altar; with justification, images, and the honoring of saints; with rites and ceremonies, and Purgatory. In the following year, they were superseded by *The Institution of a Christian Man*, which however did not gain formal sanction. The Thirteen Articles which Cranmer drafted in 1538, almost entirely on the basis of the Augsburg Confession, were never published. Then all Lutheran tenets were suppressed by the Six Articles of 1543, until they were revived in the Forty-Two Articles during the last year of Edward's reign.

Despite the increased influence of Calvinists and Zwinglians, even the Forty-Two Articles were in the framework of the Augsburg Confession. The 29th article, while it repudiated the belief that the Lord's Supper was “onely a signe of the loue that Christiens ought to haue among them selves one to another,” strongly condemned the doctrine of transubstantiation. Several articles were levelled against the Anabaptists, the 18th particularly accursing those “that presume to saie, that every man shalbe saued by the Lawe or secte whiche he professeth, so that he be diligente to frame his life according to that Lawe and the lighte of Nature.”

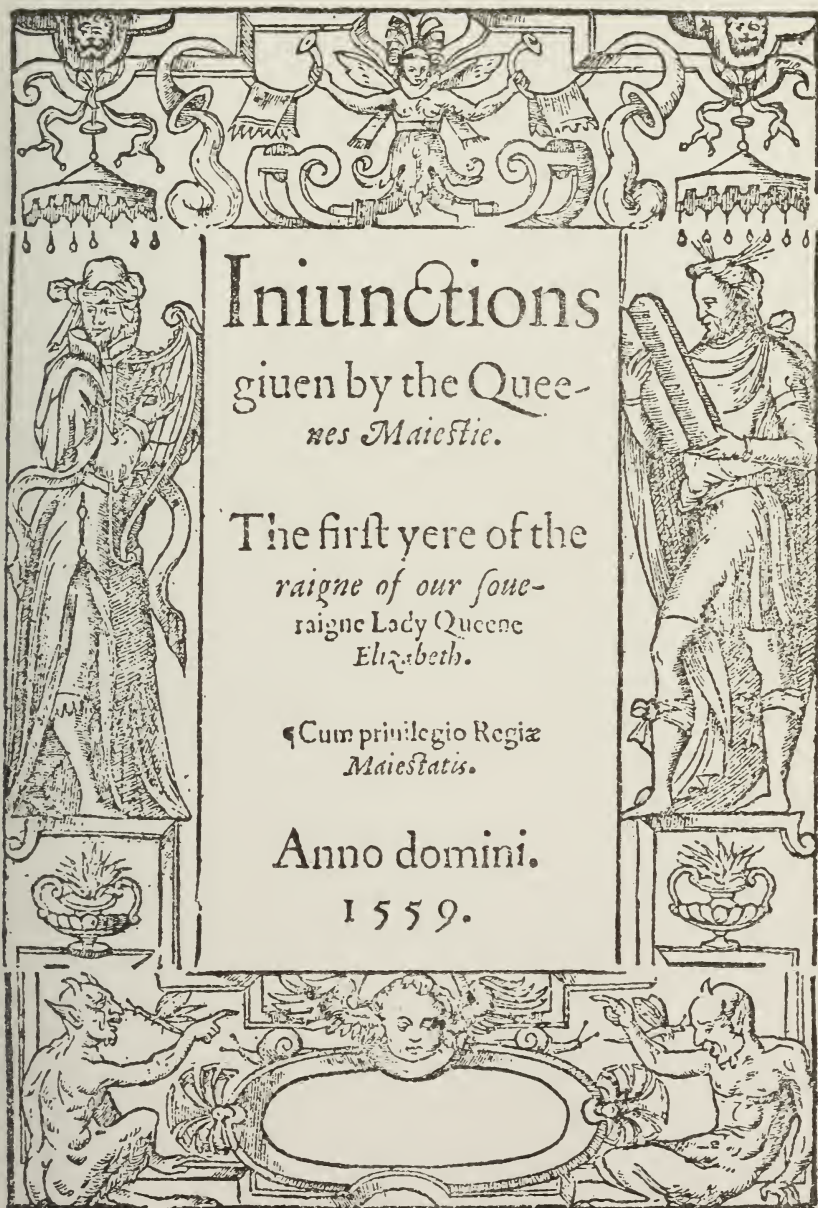
The Convocation of Canterbury reexamined the Forty-Two

Articles in January 1563. Archbishop Parker, Bishop Cox, and Bishop Guest took the most active part in the work. Their original draft dropped four of the Edwardine Articles and added four new ones. The Convocation, however, erased three more articles, so that the number settled upon was thirty-nine. The fresh matter was borrowed from the Confession of Württemberg, itself largely a repetition of the Augsburg Confession.⁷ It tended to make the new formulary more Lutheran than were the Forty-Two Articles. Thus the second article emphasized the doctrine of consubstantiality, by inserting the phrase ["The Sonne] . . . begotten from euerlastyng of the Father, the very and eternall God, of one substaunce with the father." The fifth article, "Of the holy ghost," further extended the doctrine.⁸ This was a translation of one of the Württemberg articles, and had no equivalent in the Edwardine series. Similarly new was the twelfth article, "Of good works," asserting that "albeit that good workes . . . can not put away our sinnes . . . yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christe." The article on the Lord's Supper affirmed that transubstantiation "overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament"; however, in place of the clause denying the corporeal presence a milder statement was substituted:

The body of Christe is geuen, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after a heauenly and spirituall maner: And the meane whereby the body of Christe is receaued and eaten in the Supper, is fayth.⁹

The new Articles were first printed in 1563 by Jugge and Ca-wood¹⁰; and a Latin translation was issued by Reynold Wolfe in the same year.¹¹ They received their final "Ratification" in 1571. In reality it was then that they became the Thirty-Nine Articles. In 1563, wishing to conciliate the Roman Catholics, the Queen had struck out from the draft the 29th article, "Of the wicked which do not eate the body of Christ in the vse of the Lordes Supper," which now, after the Bull of Excommunication, was restored.¹² The final version, with a number of small changes, was published in both English and Latin.

There was one major change in the Prayer Book during the reign of Elizabeth after the revision of 1559. The work contained a list of Lessons for Sundays, in addition to the proper Lessons "for diuers feasts and dayes" provided in Edward's Second Prayer Book. The selection, however, proved unsatis-



Iniunctions
giuen by the Quee-
nes Maiestie.

The first yere of the
raigne of our soue-
raigne Lady Quene
Elizabeth.

¶ Cum privilegio Regiæ
Maiestatis.

Anno domini.
1559.

factory and the Queen requested the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, her almoner, and one of the masters of request "to cause some new calendars to be imprinted, whereby such chapters or parcellis of less edification may be removed, and other more profitable may supply their roomes."¹³ Accordingly, a new selection was made, and from 1562 on included in the editions of the Prayer Book. There were, in all, some thirty-five editions, and, with minor differences, they were alike.¹⁴

(The Library has a copy of the second edition of the *Injunctions* of 1559, probably printed in 1585.¹⁵ The title-page is enclosed in a frame with the figures of Moses and David at the sides, and with an empty tablet flanked by two satyrs below. Although the booklet contains no printer's name, the border identifies it as the work of John Kingston.¹⁶ There are also two copies of the reprint of 1641. One of these belonged to Thomas Prince, who noted that he purchased the book at "Sudbury in England, June 1, 1713, out of the Library of the R. Mr. Samuel Petto, late deceased."

(Of the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Library has copies of the two issues of 1593. The border on the title-page contains the royal arms at the top, figures representing "Fides" and "Humilitas" at the sides, and the signs of the Evangelists at the corners.¹⁷ One of the copies belonged once to Samuel Sewall, and was acquired later by Thomas Prince. The fly-leaves and blank spaces contain long manuscript entries made by the Vicar of Stebbin, in Essex, and signed by his parishioners, in 1600.¹⁸

(Finally, the Library has copies of the 1562, 1581, and 1603 editions of the Prayer Book.¹⁹ The title-page border of the first contains the printer's monogram at the top, *termini* at the sides, and two lions crouching at the foot. The titles of the second and third volumes are enclosed in a border composed of the Queen's arms at the top and baskets of fruit in the corners.²⁰ The first volume once belonged to William Gott, Bishop of Truro; the second to Sir Thomas Fairfax, Commander-in-Chief of the Parliamentary Army in the Civil War, whose signature it bears; and the third to Richard Vaughan, Bishop of London in 1604-7.)

ELIZABETH was determined to prevent any deviation from

the Established Order. Archbishop Parker, at times against his will, tried to enforce her religious policies; his successor, Archbishop Grindal, was suspended during most of his primacy for his sympathy with the Reformers; but Archbishop Whitgift was a fanatic persecutor of all non-conformists. The ecclesiastical authorities had to deal mainly with Protestant dissenters; Roman Catholics were handed over to the political power. The influence of the Privy Council extended to both fields — and was usually asserted in the interest of the Puritans. Secretary Cecil, Lord Burghley since 1571, had indeed many occasions to intervene on their behalf. It has been observed that "Archbishop Whitgift considered the Puritans as the most dangerous assailants of the Church, while the Privy Council treated the Romanists as more formidable enemies."²¹

The Elizabethan age, nearly a half-century, is filled with so many events that it is almost impossible in a short paper to review the interplay of forces. There was the tragedy of Mary Stuart, with her twenty years of captivity and execution; the determination of the Popes to overthrow the "heretic" Queen and her regime and bring the country back to Catholicism; the obsession of Philip II to secure for himself the throne of England, and the similar aspiration of the Anjous of France; the incessant wars in the Netherlands, with the ravages of the Spanish and French armies; the constant threat of invasions and uprisings; the sudden emergence of England as a great maritime power, with the reckless exploits of Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and others — all surrounded with a thick web of intrigues and conspiracies. The impact of the Counter-Revolution and the new developments of Protestantism were an integral part of the complex picture, and must be viewed in relation to the whole — against the background of an England which defeated the Spanish Armada and which became the last home of the Renaissance.

This study is devoted to the revisions of the Book of Common Prayer and not to the religious history of England. The Boston Public Library, however, is so rich in original editions of the influential books of the period that callous indeed would be the writer who could by-pass them without notice. The crabbed pages of these thin pamphlets and heavy quartos and folios af-

ford an unusual insight into the times which they themselves helped to shape. There are few libraries in the country which have similar material in such abundance; the Prince Collection, strengthened by the Benton Collection and many individual purchases, remains a great depository for the study of the origins of Protestantism in England. In fact, an attempt is made here to tell the story mainly around the possessions of the Library.²²

Catholicism lay prostrate during the first ten years of the reign. The larger part of the population was still Roman Catholic, but the Roman Catholic Church as such ceased to exist. Of the twenty-six bishops, ten died within a year, and fourteen others were deprived of their offices. The vacancies were all filled with Reformers. The lower clergy, with exceptions varyingly estimated from 200 to 2000, took the oath of allegiance.²³ To some extent, the collapse of Catholicism was due to the external situation which Elizabeth, guided by Cecil's political genius, knew how to utilize. Pope Paul IV, who had declared her illegitimate, died in 1559; and his successor, Pius IV, was a peace-loving pontiff. "From England the news is," he wrote in 1565, shortly before his death, "that the Catholics are treated more mildly by the Queen; that she is less bitter every day and seems milder. We must not, therefore, altogether despair that, should she marry a Catholic, she may with him bring back the kingdom to true religion."²⁴ And Elizabeth played the marriage game supremely well; there were long negotiations about her marrying Philip II, her brother-in-law; then the Austrian Archduke Charles; the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henri III; Don Juan of Austria; and the Duke of Alençon. Throughout the decade, both the Emperor and the King of Spain sought reconciliation with England, for fear that an attack upon Elizabeth would drive her to an alliance with the French.

In spite of the Queen's leniency, the number of Catholic exiles was growing. Many priests left in the first few months, finding refuge in Flanders, chiefly at Louvain. Their leaders, Nicholas Sanders and Morris Clenog, advocated "strong measures" from the beginning, recommending to the Council of Trent that the people of England be absolved from their allegiance to Elizabeth, and that Mary Stuart's title to the English crown be confirmed.²⁵ It was with the Council of Trent and the

hostile activities of the exiles in mind that John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, published in 1562 his *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, the first methodical statement of the position of the Church of England as against the Church of Rome.²⁶ The book was answered by Thomas Harding, former chaplain of Bishop Gardiner and prebendary of Salisbury who had refused to take the oath. Jewel made a *Reply*, and Harding issued a *Confutation*; this led the Bishop to write a *Defence of the Apologie*, first published in 1567, a second time in 1570, and then in 1571.²⁷ The work first quotes a passage from the English translation of the *Apologia*, follows it up with the corresponding passage from Harding's *Answer*, and finally gives the Bishop's rebuttal; and so it goes on through eight hundred folio pages. But Harding was only one of a large group of Catholic controversialists. John Martial, Thomas Dorman, John Rastell, Nicholas Stapleton, and others composed tract after tract. In a few years forty fresh volumes and new editions appeared, almost all printed at Antwerp.²⁸ Many of the books were smuggled into England, in spite of the government's vigilance. Yet the success of the movement was short-lived. The Catholic party in England was dwindling rapidly.²⁹

MEANWHILE there were deep stirrings on the Protestant side. The more advanced Reformers accepted the new Prayer Book with reservations, ignoring the parts which they disliked, and especially determined not to observe the rubric about vestments and ornaments. The rise of "the Vestiarian Controversy" was, therefore, inevitable when Archbishop Parker, in obedience to the Queen's peremptory demands, issued his *Advertisements* in 1566 for a rigid uniformity of doctrine and preaching, the administration of the sacraments, and "the outward apparell of persons ecclesiasticall."³⁰ The latter included the square cap, tippet, and surplice, which the radicals hated as "the conjuring garments of popery." More than a third of the London clergy declined the required oath, whereupon they were evicted from their positions, and not a few thrown into prison. Among the opponents of the use of vestments were such distinguished men as Thomas Sampson, dean of Christchurch, and Laurence

Humphrey, president of Magdalen College, Oxford, both of whom were deprived. Soon afterwards Robert Crowley, vicar of St. Giles, published *A briefe discourse against the outward apparel of the popish church*.³¹ Archbishop Parker himself answered it with *A Brief examination*.³² The non-conformists retorted with several tracts, encouraging one another ("my faythful brethren," "my lovyinge brethren") in their common fight.³³ It was at this time that they were first called *Puritans* — a nickname given them for pretending to profess a greater purity in worship than others.³⁴

A new defense of the Episcopal position, much more conciliatory in tone, appeared in *A Briefe and lamentable consideration of the apparel now used by the Clergy of England*.³⁵ Quoting the opinions of Bullinger, Gualter, and other leading Swiss theologians who all recommended compromise in these "indifferent things," the writer (perhaps Bishop Jewel of Salisbury) conceded that ceremonies might sometimes be justly altered; but he warned that "in the breache of traditions two thyngs are hazarded, discipline, and tranquillitie, or the agreement of the common wealth":

For discipline sake, there neede certayne ordinances: for unskilled persons must be accustomed to ceremonies and rites, to holy dayes, to certayne readings, to private and publique exercises . . . And although the Gospell doth bryng a hygher doctrine, yet it wyll not have discipline and institution to be abolished, but it commandeth that men be restryngned, ruled, and taught with such instructions.

The part which Zwingli's successor and disciples played in the quarrel is not without its irony. It was to these men, whose hospitality they had once enjoyed in their exile, that both Bishops and Puritans turned for adjudication. And the Zurich doctors backed up the Bishops. "It seemed to us of far greater importance," Bullinger and Gualter wrote to Sampson and Humphrey, "that you should comply with these habits for a time and remain with the sheep committed to your charge than that you should leave them, and at the same time desert the churches."³⁶ Those foreign "extremists" were satisfied with the gains made by the Reformation in England, and were pleased to see their poor brethren of yesterday installed in the mighty bishoprics. They even knew how to preserve their amity with the Queen.

AFTER the battle of Langside on May 14, 1568, Mary Stuart fled to England. Whatever Elizabeth's sentiments were, Cecil and the other ministers regarded her with the greatest suspicion. A grand-daughter of Henry VII, Mary was looked upon by a large part of the higher nobility as the rightful heir to the throne of England, instead of the "illegitimate" Elizabeth. And she was a Catholic, from whom the restoration of the old faith was to be expected. The plotting of her English supporters, as well as of the Spanish, French, and Papal diplomats began at once. The Duke of Norfolk, hoping to marry the imprisoned Queen, was ready to raise a revolt; and the Spanish Ambassador, Don Guerau d'Espes, urgently asked his King's help. The Duke of Alva, Governor of the Low Countries, cautioned Philip against the enterprise; and meanwhile Cecil learned of the preparations of the northern lords. The Duke of Norfolk was arrested, and the rest of the leaders were summoned to Court. As they feared to appear there, the rebellion was hastily declared. Led by the Earl of Northumberland and the Earl of Westmoreland, on November 14, 1569 the rebels marched into Durham. Mass was celebrated in the Cathedral and the English Bible and the Book of Common Prayer were publicly burned. A proclamation announced the Earls' purpose to restore "the ancient customs and usages" of the Catholic faith.³⁷

It was to strengthen the rising of the North that Pope Pius V issued his Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth.³⁸ "The Lord who reigns on high (*Regnans in eccelsis*) . . .," the famous document began, calling Elizabeth, the "alleged" Queen of England, "a servant of infamy" and "a refuge of all wicked men." She was accused of filling the council "with obscure heretics":

She abolished the sacrifice of the Mass, prayers, fastings, celibacy, and Catholic rites; commanded manifestly heretical books to be read in the whole realm; observed and made her subjects observe impious mysteries instituted according to the precepts of Calvin; ejected bishops, rectors, and other Catholic priests from their churches and benefices; . . . compelled abjuration of the Roman Pontiff, and a recognition of herself, under oath, as the sole mistress in temporal as well as spiritual matters . . .

Elizabeth's refusal to allow the papal nuncio to enter the coun-

try was specially pointed out as a proof of the hardening of her heart against the counsels of the Holy See. Compelled to take recourse to the weapons of justice, the Pope concluded:

... we declare the said Elizabeth a heretic, and a fautor of heretics, and that all who adhere to her incur the sentence of anathema, and are cut off from the unity of the Body of Christ. Moreover, that she has forfeited her pretended title to the aforesaid kingdom, and is deprived of all dominion, dignity, and privilege. We declare that nobles, subjects, and peoples are free from any oath to her, and we interdict obedience to her monitions, mandates, and laws. Those who do otherwise we involve in the same anathema.

The Bull was issued on February 25, 1570, nearly two months after the total fiasco of the Northern rebellion, the news of which had not yet reached Rome.³⁹ It came too late to have any military effect; and it was to produce many unfortunate consequences. Above all, it created a conflict of conscience for the English Catholics, imposing upon them the obligation to commit high treason. The Bull caused the first execution of a Catholic during the reign. John Felton affixed a copy of it to the door of the palace of the Bishop of London, for which he was sent to the gallows on August 8, 1570.

The persecution became more and more severe because of the plots against Elizabeth. The Ridolfi conspiracy was the most notorious of these. Ridolfi, a Florentine banker long resident in London, tried to organize a new revolt and intervention. Full of sanguine hopes, he assured the Pope that the most powerful lords, from all parts of the country, were ready to rise with some thirty thousand men and that, if Alva consented to help, Mary's followers in Scotland would attack also. He begged the Pope to send a subsidy to Flanders, and pressed for the boycotting of English commerce on the Continent.⁴⁰ Alva, as before, was cautious, distrusting the voluble Italian. The Pope, however, was delighted with the venture, and upon his advice Mary gave her approval. The plans again included her marriage to the Duke of Norfolk. Ridolfi visited Rome and then journeyed to Madrid, where the King's Council also endorsed the enterprise. "It cannot be denied," Father Pollen writes, "that the subject of Elizabeth's assassination, as a possible alternative to her capture, was proposed at the Council board of King Philip,

and that, far from any protest, the matter was generally regarded as being helpful to the King's affairs."⁴¹ Cecil, now Lord Burghley, learned of the plot, including the scheme of Mary's escape, even before Ridolfi left the country. The Duke of Norfolk was arrested and executed. The news of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (August 23, 1572) made people clamor also for Mary's death. Elizabeth saved her cousin; but the latter's party in Scotland was destroyed and, with the regency of Lord Morton, Protestantism was firmly established. After the surrender of Edinburgh Castle in June 1573, England had nothing to fear from the North for a long time.

IN spite of the Catholic threat inside the country and from the Continent, Elizabeth was resolved not to make any concessions to the Puritans. In August 1571 — at the very time when her assassination and England's invasion were contemplated by the Spanish Council of State — she appointed a Commission for "a perfect reformation of all abuses . . . that none shall be suffered to decline either on the left or on the right hand from the direct line limited by the laws and injunctions."⁴² And that she had the Puritans especially in mind was obvious from the order that if any of the bishops were remiss in their duties she was to be informed.

In 1572 two ejected London ministers, John Field and Thomas Wilcox, published *An Admonition to Parliament*, giving vent to the grievances of the Puritans.⁴³ The *Advertisements* demanded an acknowledgment that the Book of Common Prayer was "not repugnant" to the word of God; the writers tried to prove that it was. "This boke is an imperfecte booke," they wrote, "culled & picked out of that popishe dunghil, the Masse booke full of all abominations." They regarded too much Bible reading "as evill as playing upon a stage, and worse too"; they objected to the Apocrypha, to the observance of Saints' Days, to "childishe & superstitious toyes" in baptism, to the use of wedding rings in matrimony, to the Ordinal which was but "a thing worde for worde drawne out of the Popes Pontifical." They were especially rude about the great ecclesiastical offices, describing the Archbishop's Court as "a filthy quauemire, and

poysoned plashe of all abhominations that doe infect the whole realm," and the Commissioners' Court as "a pettie little stinking ditche." The Thirty-Nine Articles they were ready to accept, although the substance of doctrine needed "a godlye interpretation of a point or two, which are either too sparely or too darkely set downe."⁴⁴

The tract became immensely popular. It was followed by two small pamphlets, *An Exhortation to the Byshops to deale brotherly with theyr brethren* and *An Exhortation to the Bishops and their clergie*. The first protested against the charge of disobedience to the Queen. "Let not lawes," the authors asked, "that were purposely made for the wicked, be made snares by you to catch the godly." The second was a rambling discourse, yet it managed to say: "There is a better way for Bishops, and Bishops of Christ, to confute a schisme by than prisons and chaines."⁴⁵

To be sure, Field and Wilcox were by then lodged at Newgate. However, a new antagonist appeared on the scene: Thomas Cartwright, a former professor of Cambridge University, who soon became the acknowledged leader of the enemies of the Established Order. After his ejection from Cambridge, Cartwright went to Geneva, returning to England in the fall of 1572, just in time to write a *Second Admonition*. The book concentrated its attack upon the Episcopal government:

The other bokes are shorte and therefore they have not so muche tolde you how to Reforme, as what to Reforme . . . I meane to supplie some thing that may make to the expressing of the matter so plainely, that you may have sufficient light to proceede by, till they which are endued with greater gifts, discuss it more exactly, or till we our selves, who have begon, may have further opportunitie to proceede, if it be neglected of their part which could doe it better.⁴⁶

There was need only for pastors and teachers, the writer argued. After the setting up of these two offices, "there remaineth no use of fat canons, prebendaries, petie canons, singing men, quiresters, virgirs, and the rest of the crue." The Scriptures plainly forbade any hierarchy; the course, therefore, was clear:

Let no one minister meddle in any cure save his owne, but as he is appointed by common consent of the next conference, or counsels provincially or nationall . . . A conference I call the meeting of some certain ministers, and other brethen . . . to confer and exercise them

selves in prophesying, or in interpreting the scriptures . . . I call that a Synode provincially which is the meeting of certaine of the consistorie of every parishe within a province . . . : where great causes of the churches . . . shall be heard and determined, except when a more genrall Synode, and councell of the whole land be, which I call nationall . . .⁴⁷

The Bishops were alarmed. Cox of Ely, writing to Gualter, spoke of the confusion occasioned "by some factious and heady men," who bring the bishops "into incredible disfavor with the people, and also with the magistrates and nobility." Pilkington of Durham complained that "not only the habits, but our whole ecclesiastical policy, discipline, the revenues of the bishops, ceremonies of public forms of worship . . . are now openly attacked from the press." Archbishop Grindal of York turned to Bullinger: "Some violent pamphlets came forth in which almost the whole external policy of our church was attacked . . . They are young men who disseminate these opinions, and they have their supporters, especially from among those who are gaping for ecclesiastical property."⁴⁸ The Helvetian theologians were, as before, sympathetic. "It appears to me better," Gualter wrote to Cox, "to bear with patience the imperfections of the kingdoms of this world, so long as purity of doctrine and liberty of conscience remain inviolate, than by disputing about the external government of the church to bring the whole into danger." As to the election of ministers, he pointed out that there was no church in the city and canton of Zurich which retained such a right.⁴⁹ But then, the factious young men drew their inspiration from Geneva, not Zurich.

The Puritans' attack could not be ignored. The Bishops selected John Whitgift, Dean of Lincoln, who as Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University was responsible for Cartwright's deprivation, to refute the attack.⁵⁰ In 1573 Whitgift published *An Answere to a certen Libel intituled An Admonition to the Parliament*, to which Cartwright wrote a *Repye*, printed like his earlier work at Wandsworth, where John Stroud, a former minister in Kent, operated a secret press.⁵¹ Whitgift contended that no form of church government was prescribed in Scripture and that the matter was to be regulated by the state; Cartwright insisted that Scripture constituted the only safe standard. Whit-

gift defended the power of Bishops to appoint ministers to their congregations; Cartwright maintained that election was the practice in the time of the Apostles and early Church Fathers. Whitgift asked, "May not the Christian magistrate designate certain kind of apparel for ministers as well as for other states of men?"; and Cartwright answered that the magistrate may command a distinct apparel but not a "popish" one. Whitgift charged the Puritans with denying the Prince's authority in the ecclesiastical field; and Cartwright asserted that the head of the commonwealth may be a great ornament to the church, yet he is only a member of it.⁵²

In the following year Whitgift continued the debate with his long *Defense of the Answer to the Admonition*,⁵³ which again elicited from Cartwright a *Second Replie* in 1575, and *The Rest of the Second Replie* in 1577.⁵⁴ Whitgift accused his opponent of having confounded the spiritual and external regimens of the church; Cartwright affirmed that the separation of the two would destroy the government of Christ. "We make not an Archbishop necessary to salvation," Whitgift wrote, "but profitable for the government of the church"; Cartwright retorted that there was no more need for an archbishop than for a pope. Whitgift held that a "pastor must use that discipline which is given him by the magistrate, be it civil or ecclesiastical"; and Cartwright countered that "ministers having both civil and ecclesiastical vengeance in their own hands make themselves more terrible to the people than the magistrate who has only the civil sword."⁵⁵

In the meantime a systematic presentation of the Puritan views was set forth by Walter Travers, a brilliant young Cambridge scholar, under the title *Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae . . . Explicatio*, printed anonymously at La Rochelle in 1574. An English translation made by Cartwright was issued soon as *A full and plaine declaration of Ecclesiasticall Discipline*.⁵⁶ Fighting for their own form of worship and church government, the Presbyterians were undoubtedly serving the cause of religious liberty. It would be a mistake, however, to think of them as the conscious champions of such an ideal. The Presbyterians wanted freedom of conscience for themselves, but were not prepared to concede it to others. Far from being the apostles of universal

toleration, they were more tyrannical in their views than the Anglican bishops. "Heretykes," Cartwright declared in his *Second Replie*, "owghte to be put to deathe nowe." And he calmly added: "If this be bloudie and extreme, I am contente to be so counted withe the holie goste."⁵⁷ In time the Presbyterians had a chance to demonstrate how far they could go in their hatred of other non-conformists.

Certainly Archbishop Grindal, who succeeded Parker in 1575, was more liberal than his left-wing opponents. When the "prophesyings" — expositions of Scripture and preaching — aroused the suspicions of the Queen, he bravely defended the meetings. In a long letter, full of quotations from Ezekiel, St. Paul, and St. Ambrose, the good Archbishop told the Queen that he could not consent to the suppressing of these Bible exercises. "Bear with me, I beseech you, Madam," he wrote, "if I choose rather to offend your earthly majesty than to offend the heavenly majesty of God." He plainly asked the Queen "to refer all ecclesiastical matters which touch religion, or the doctrine and discipline of the church, unto the bishops and divines of the realm," further requesting, "When you deal in matters of faith and religion . . . you would not use to pronounce so resolutely and peremptorily, *quasi ex auctoritate*, as ye may do in civil and extern matters."⁵⁸

Elizabeth was furious. She ordered at once the sequestration of the Archbishop's office as well as his confinement to his house. Grindal, who had innocently hoped to impress the Queen with his learned epistle, now humbly begged Burghley and the Privy Council to intervene on his behalf. Elizabeth, however, remained obdurate. Finally, after six years of suspension, the Primate was permitted to make his formal submission.⁵⁹ By the end of 1582 he seems to have been reinstated but, on his becoming near-blind, the Queen asked for his resignation. His death saved him from the ignominy.

AN important part of the English Catholic revival was the Seminarist movement. In 1568 William Allen, a former Principal of St. Mary's at Oxford, founded an English College at Douay in Flanders, first supported by alms from various sources and later by regular subsidies of the Pope and the King of Spain.

The purpose of the College was to educate young English exiles for the priesthood, and then send them back on missionary work to England.⁶⁰ The first class started with four English and two Belgian scholars, but the number rapidly increased, up to a hundred or more. In ordinary years the College ordained about twenty to twenty-five students, all of whom went to England.⁶¹ It was in 1574 that the first Seminarist, Louis Barlow, crossed the Channel, followed by Henry Shaw and others. The young priests soon reported great progress. As Allen learned:

York, Winchester, Newcastle, Durham, Chester, Derby, Lancaster, Richmond, Lincoln and in almost the whole northern part of England, as well as throughout ancient Britain — Wales as they call it — the cities and more populous towns are less corrupted.

But on account of the greater number of merchants and intercourse with heretics there is more infection, chiefly in those towns that lie nearest to France and Belgium: there is not one however in which a man, who is devoted yet prudent, may not reap a very rich harvest for the Catholic faith.

But we reckon less on the cities than on the rest of the people: for the chief men and notables, and nobles and those of honest condition, for the most part are soldiering, farming, or living in the country, and are not city-folk; and thus their conversion is easier.⁶²

Of the two universities, Oxford was the more responsive; and there were many great Catholic families in whose country places "the workers may betake themselves, though not always without danger."

Naturally, the presence of the Seminarists soon became known. In June 1577 Bishop Aylmer of London warned Secretary Walsingham that "the Papists do marvelously increase, both in number and in obstinate withdrawinge of them selves from the Church and the service of God"; and that those who, in hope of amendment, were allowed to go to the country "haue drawne great multitudes of their teaneantes and frindes into the like maliciouse obstinacie."⁶³ The Government did not need goading. In November of the same year Cuthbert Mayne, one of the most successful of the Seminarists, was executed; and a few months later John Nelson suffered a similar fate. But the danger only increased the zeal of the missionaries. In 1580 two Jesuits, Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion, both of whom had studied at Douay, were sent to England. At their final audience

with the Pope, they asked for a new interpretation of the Bull of Excommunication: "The Catholics desire it to be understood in this way," their petition read, "that it always obliges Elizabeth and the heretics; as for the Catholics, it obliges them in no way while affairs stand as they do but will only do so in future, when the public execution of the Bull can be made."⁶⁴ The request was conceded by Gregory XIII. Elizabeth undoubtedly benefited from the declaration which restrained the English Catholics from violence; for her ministers, however, the clause had the meaning that the Catholics were to remain loyal only until a chance for the restoration of their faith arose. In London, the Jesuit fathers got in touch with the Catholics, held a synod at Southwark, and visited many of the landed gentry. In July 1581 Campion was arrested, and in the following December he was executed with the utmost cruelty. Parsons escaped to France, never to return to England.

While hiding in Lancashire, Campion, who once was one of the most brilliant orators at Oxford, composed his *Decem Rationes*, addressed to the students of the Universities. In it he expounded the ten topics on which he was ready to prove the fallacy of Protestantism. The first was the elimination of certain books from the Bible; the second, the interpretation of the sacred texts; the third, the nature of the Church, which the Reformers regarded as invisible; the fourth, the inclusion of the Council of Trent among the General Councils; the fifth and sixth were the authority of the Church Fathers and their treatment of Scripture; the seventh was the history of the Church, which knew nothing of a Protestant sect; the eighth pointed out the absurdity of certain statements of Luther, Calvin, Beza, and others; the ninth showed the confusion of their arguments; and the tenth discussed such subjects as the Apostolic succession, the meaning of sainthood, and so on. In the tenth section, which has a particularly exultant quality, Campion turned to the Queen, begging her to side with her ancestors. "The day will come, most sovereign Lady and Queen Elizabeth," he exclaimed, "which shall evidently set before your Majesties eyes which of the two have sincerely loved you, the Society of Jesus or Luther's progeny." Campion was undoubtedly sincere in his protestations of loyalty to the Queen; but, as his biographer Richard

Simpson remarks, "Parsons may have laughed in his sleeve when he gave them his *imprimatur*."⁶⁶

The book was printed by a secret press at the lodge of Lady Cecilia Stonor, near Henley, and was distributed at commencement at Oxford. It created great excitement, and was the basis of the disputations held between the Anglican representatives and Campion after his arrest. Further, Bishop Aylmer asked Laurence Humphrey and William Whitaker, Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, to write answers to the work. Whitaker, himself a scholar of international reputation who had published a Greek translation of the Book of Common Prayer as well as of Nowell's *Catechism*,⁶⁵ was the first to prepare his *Responsio ad Rationes Edmundi Campiani*, published in 1581. Humphrey's volume, *Jesuitismi pars prima*, followed the next year. John Drury, a Scotch Jesuit, issued then his *Confutatio* against Whitaker, to which the latter replied in his *Defensio contra Confutationem*, while Humphrey made his reply in his *Jesuitismi pars secunda*. Twenty-five years later, Richard Stocke, a London minister, produced his *Answer to the Ten Reasons of Edmund Campian* — a translation of both Campion's *Decem Rationes* and Whitaker's *Responsio*, together with a summary of, and comments on, Father Drury's *Confutatio*.⁶⁷

Even before the arrival of the two Jesuits in England, Nicholas Sanders, who for years had been active at the Spanish Court, organized an expedition to Ireland. James Fitzgerald was the commander of the small Spanish-Italian force which landed at Smerwick in July 1579. The invaders carried on a regular guerilla warfare but finally were surrounded by Elizabeth's army and all but the officers were slaughtered. Sanders himself died a few months later, at an unknown place.

Undoubtedly, the attempted invasion of Ireland was largely responsible for the more rigorous persecution of the Seminarists. The first statute of 1581 reëmphasized the measures enacted after the Bull of Excommunication,⁶⁸ and a letter from the Council to Archbishop Grindal added a number of directives about carrying on the investigations against suspects.⁶⁹

CATHOLIC disaffection, however, was spreading and Philip was

again making threatening moves. In July 1584 the Prince of Orange was murdered, and captured documents revealed new plans for Elizabeth's assassination. In a wave of patriotism, Parliament passed an Act "for the Suertie of the Queenes Majesties most Royall Person, and the continuance of the Realme in Peace." Referring to "sondrie wicked Plottes and Meanes," it declared that in case of invasion or rebellion persons pretending to have a title to the crown — meaning, of course, Mary Stuart — would be excluded from such a claim. Further, the Act empowered all subjects "to pursue to Death" everyone who participated in the invasion or rebellion, or in an attempt on the Queen's life. It specially enjoined the members of the association which had been lately formed for the protection of the Queen to act accordingly.⁷⁰

In order to forestall the possibility of invasion, Elizabeth decided to bolster up the resistance in the Low Countries by sending there an army under Leicester. *A Declaration*, printed in 1585, justified her action as taken at the request of the leaders of the Netherlands, "to maintaine themselves in their insistent defense against the violence and cruelties of the Spaniards their oppressours."⁷¹ At the same time, a new statute was passed, which ordered that "all and everie Jesuites Seminarie Priestes and other Priestes whatsoever" should leave the country within forty days. Those who remained, as also those educated in any foreign college of Jesuits who did not return and take the oath of supremacy, were declared traitors.⁷²

The combined force of the two statutes of 1585 was not enough to stay either rebellion or the work of the Seminarists. A serious conspiracy was, in fact, set on foot a few months after their enactment. Members of a secret society, formed in 1580 for the support of the missionaries, organized a plot for a general uprising, the murder of Elizabeth and her chief ministers, and the release of Mary Stuart. Anthony Babington, a descendant of a Catholic rebel of the reign of Henry VIII, was their leader. Mary, who was in correspondence with Babington, wrote a detailed criticism of the plan; and Philip II expressed his admiration for the young Englishman's courage. The Queen of Scots made out her will in which she named the Spanish royal family her heir in case her own son persisted in Protestantism.



DECLARATION OF
great troubles pretended against
the Realme by a number of Semi-
narie Priests and Iesuits, sent, and
very secretly dispersed in the same,
to worke great Treasons vn-
der a false pretence of
Religion,

*With a prouision very necessarie
for remedie thereof. Published
by this her Maiesties
Proclamation.*



Imprinted at London by the Deputies
of Christopher Barker Printer to the
Queenes most excellent
Maiestie.

1591.

From the Copy in the Prince Collection

Walsingham, however, had an extremely efficient spy system. Babington and several of his companions were executed on September 20, 1586; and it was her alleged complicity in the plot that led to the trial and beheading of Mary Stuart on February 18, 1587.⁷³

Mary's elimination from the scene was, if anything, a new spur to Philip, who could feel at last that he was acting in his own interests. In anticipation of the sailing of the Armada, he insisted on Allen's becoming a Cardinal, so as to have "some one in high position upon whom all can fix their eyes and hopes."⁷⁴ It was also for fear of the Armada that the persecutions in England grew to extraordinary proportions. In 1588 thirty-six priests and others, convicted of "high treason," were put to death. During the next two years the number of victims dropped, but in 1591, at the news of a fresh attempt at invasion, it again rose to eighteen.⁷⁵

In that year the Government published *A declaration of great troubles pretended against the Realme by a number of Seminarie Priests and Jesuits*.⁷⁶ "Giuen at our Mannour of Richmond the xviii day of October, 1591," the Queen charged Philip, "now in these his declined yeeres," of preparing "great forces for the Seas," even greater ones than before. As to her own treatment of the Catholics, she repeated her favorite excuse:

Of this that none doe suffer death for matter of Religion, there is manifest prooffe, in that a number of men of wealth in our Realme professing contrary Religion, are knowen not to bee impeached for the same, eyther in their liues, landes, or goods, or in their liberties, but onely by payment of a peculiar summe, as a penaltie for the time that they doe refuse to come to Church . . .⁷⁷

The pamphlet named Parsons, "arrogating to himselfe the name of the King Catholikes Confessour," and Allen, "now for his treasons honoured with a Cardinales Hatte," as the principal mischief makers. It gave a graphic description of the methods used by the Seminarists:

They doe come into the Realme by secret Creekes, and landing places, disguised, both in their names and persons: Some in apparell, as Souldiers, Mariners, or Merchants, pretending that they haue bene heretofore taken prisoners, and put into Gallies, and deliuered: Some come in as gentlemen with contrary names, in comely apparell, as though they had trauelled into forreine Countries for knowl-

edge: And generally all, or the most part, as soone as they are crept in, are cloathed like Gentlemen in apparell, and many as gallants, yea in all colours, and wyth feathers, and such like disguising themselves, and many of them in their behauiour as Ruffians, farre off to be thought, or suspected to be Friars, Priestes, Iesuits, or Popish Schollers. And of these many do attempt to resorte into the Vniuersities and houses of Lawe from whence in former times they departed: many into seruices of Noblemen, Ladies and Gentlemen, with such fraudulent deuises to couer themselves from all apprehension, or suspicion: and yet in processe of time, they doe at length so insinuate themselves to get themselves credite wyth hypocrisies, as they infect both the Masters and Families, and consequentlie aduenture also, yea secretly to vse their offices of Priesthooode and reconcilements . . .⁷⁸

ALL this time, the struggle of the Puritans against the Anglican order continued unabated. The ferment of dissent took new form, giving birth to a new sect. The Presbyterians fought the Episcopal government but remained within the Established Church; but now a group set up its own Separatist Church.

It was while preaching in and around Cambridge that Robert Browne, a kinsman of Lord Burghley, became convinced that ordination, whether Episcopal or Presbyterian, was a hateful institution. He saw no need for any organization beyond the local unit. Having won over to his views Robert Harrison, master of St. Giles Hospital at Norwich, he began to preach in that city. He had many listeners, who banded together into a congregation in the spring of 1581. The Bishop of Norwich was annoyed by Browne's spreading of his "corrupt and contentious doctrine" and had him imprisoned twice before the summer was over. To avoid more trouble, a large part of the church decided to migrate to Middelburgh where, some time before, Cartwright and his friends had found refuge. The two groups, however, were sharply opposed. At Middelburgh Browne published his *Booke which Sheweth the life of all true Christians*, embodying his main principles.

Unfortunately, the little congregation was torn with quarrels from the beginning. Their covenant, according to which "anie might protest, appeale, complaine, exhort, dispute, reproue, etc.," was taken seriously, so that the meetings bristled

with "warnings and rebukeings." In a few months Browne had enough of the company and, through Scotland, returned to England; there in October 1585 he made his submission to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He taught school for a few years, and then was appointed rector of Achurch in Northamptonshire, where he remained till his death, some forty years later.⁷⁹

Browne's apostasy, however, did not end the movement. In 1583 Elias Thacker and John Copping were hanged at Bury St. Edmonds for their adherence to his teachings. And meanwhile new men arose to step into Browne's place, John Greenwood and Henry Barrowe being the most prominent among them. Greenwood, a graduate of Cambridge and an ordained priest, was one of the "conventiclors" who had gathered in the house of one Henry Martin, where in the autumn of 1586 he was arrested. Barrowe, who has been described as a gay courtier in his early youth, had a sudden conversion to the Gospels. When visiting Greenwood in the Clink at Southwark, he too was detained in the prison. During his examination he especially aroused Whitgift's anger by his bold replies. From the time of their arrest till their execution seven years later, Greenwood and Barrowe were kept almost uninterruptedly in prison.

It was there that Greenwood wrote, on slips of paper, *An Answer to G. Giffords pretended defense of read praiers* and *A fewe of Mr. Giffards last cauills*. In a note the author begs the Christian Reader, "Now if by any meanes that first [treatise] of his came into thy handes, be thou entreated, for the truths sake, eyther thy selfe to publish it, or to deliver it to such as will." Eventually the manuscripts were smuggled out and sent to Dort, in the Netherlands, where a printer named Hause published them in 1590, first the earlier piece separately and then the two together. George Gifford, against whom Greenwood composed his work, was himself a Puritan — in fact, "a ring-leader of the non-conformists," as Bishop Aylmer called him. However, he was a strict Presbyterian and had attacked the Separatists in his *A Short Treatise against the Donatists of England, whom we call Brownists*. Greenwood's main belief, for which he was willing to suffer prison and death, was the unwholesomeness of the "prescript forme of praier." The Library has a copy of the combined edition of his two works.⁸⁰

Barrowe was the author of *A Plaine Refutation of Mr. Giffards Booke*. The first few pages describe "the confusion, false worship, and anti-Christian disorder" in the Church of England, but the main body of the book, two hundred quarto pages, explains the reasons for separation. The volume also contains Greenwood's refutation of Gifford's "supposed consimilitude" between the Donatists and Separatists. This book, too, was published first at Dort in 1591, and then reprinted in London in 1606. The Library has a copy of this later edition. It has also a copy of Barrowe's *A petition directed to her most excellent Maiestie*, printed at Dort (or Middelburgh) in 1590. The work is a plea for a more lenient treatment of the "Seekers of Reformation." The dissenters were persecuted on the basis of the second statute of 1581, which prescribed the penalty of death for those who "advisedlye and with a maliciouse intente" wrote or printed "any manner of Book Ryme Ballade Letter or Writing, conteyning any false sedicious and slaunderous Matter to the Defamation of the Queenes Maiestie." Barrowe protested that none of their writings intended any defamation of the Queen. As to the Bishops, criticism of them had never been regarded as a crime. To prove his point, the author quoted a number of passages from Chaucer and the *Piers Ploughman*.⁸¹

Greenwood and Barrowe, even more than Browne, are regarded as the founders of modern Congregationalism. The story of the dissensions among the Marian exiles, *A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford*, which was published in 1575, was undoubtedly known to them. The Discipline, with its seventy-three articles, which the Frankfurt congregation adopted in the spring of 1557 greatly influenced the new Reformers. It was also largely along Congregationalist lines that the famous polemics of the Martin Marprelate tracts were fought.

"Martin Marprelate" was a pseudonym, under which a series of pamphlets was published in 1588-89, the name indicating the intention of the writers to *mar* (disfigure) prelacy. It is difficult to know the origins of the controversy. Whitgift, on becoming Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583, started his policy of coercion at once with full force. As if to make up for Grindal's laxity, he sent out a series of articles which all ministers were required to accept. Three of "the Lambeth articles" became the test of con-

formity: the first affirmed the Queen's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical as well as temporal; the second acknowledged that the Book of Common Prayer and the Ordinal "conteyneth nothing in it contrary to the word of God" and that the minister himself "will use the forme of the said book prescribed in public prayer, and administration of sacraments, and none other"; and the third stated that the Thirty-Nine Articles were "agreeable to the word of God." The formula, imposed for the first time on the Archbishop's own authority, was bitterly contested by the Puritans, who poured in their complaints to the Privy Council. The threat of Spanish invasion lessened the severity of the proceedings against them; and, for a while at least, the subscription was not demanded from the great body of clergy already officiating. But after the summer of 1588 — that is, after the defeat of the Armada — Whitgift, with the support of the Queen, gradually got the upper hand. Bacon correctly described the developments when he wrote: "First those ceremonies which were pretended to be corrupt the Bishops maintained to be things indifferent . . . Then they were content mildly to acknowledge many imperfections in the church . . . After they grew to a more absolute defense and maintenance of all the orders of the church, and stiffly to hold that nothing was to make a breach upon the rest."⁸²

THE commission appointed by the Archbishop dealt ruthlessly with the non-conformists. The latter had recourse to a private press and in 1584 several pamphlets appeared, *A Briefe and Plaine Declaration* among them,⁸³ attacking especially the plurality of benefices. Richard Cosins defended the Bishops, and was answered by Dudley Fenner in his *Counter-Poyson*.⁸⁴ Now John Bridges, Dean of Salisbury, undertook *A Defence of the Government Established in the Church of Englande*, a quarto of 1400 pages, answering, according to the title-page, "also the arguments of Caluine, Beza and Danaeus . . . in defence of her Maiestie, and all other Christian Princes supreme Government in Ecclesiastical causes, against the Tetrarchie that our Brethren would erect in every particular congregation, of Doctors, Pastors, Gouvernors, and Deacons . . ." Again Dudley Fenner

replied, this time with *A Defence of the godlie Ministers against the Slaunders of D. Bridges*.⁸⁵ Other tracts followed, and then in 1588 Martin Marprelate issued his *Epistle and Epitome*.

The authorship of these essays is still a mystery. John Penry, a young Welsh minister, was probably the original Martin, although Throckmorton, Udall, and others have also been suggested. The first tracts were printed by Robert Waldegrave in Mrs. Nicholas Crane's house at East Molesey in Surrey. The press was later moved to Sir Richard Knightly's manor at Fawsley, from where again it was transferred to Coventry, and finally to Warrington in Lancashire. There a fatal accident happened. In the unloading, some of the type fell out of the boxes, attracting the curiosity of the crowd, including the sheriff. The matter was reported to the Earl of Derby, who recognized that he had discovered the secret of the Marprelate press. The printers were arrested and, under torture, confessed.⁸⁶ Penry fled to Scotland, but two years later, upon his return to London, was captured and hanged.

The Library has two of Penry's tracts, one his farewell letter *To my beloved wife Helener Penry*, dated April 6, 1593, and the other, his profession of faith, beginning *I Iohn Penry doo heare . . . set downe the whole truth . . .*, dated April 24, 1593, both written in prison shortly before his trial and execution. The farewell letter, printed on two leaves in poor Gothic type, is a truly moving document. Penry admonished his "dear wife and sister" to dedicate herself wholly to the service of God. "Kepe your self my good Helen," he wrote, "here with this pore Church, you may make as good a refuge . . . as anie where else for your outward estate." He begged her to bring up their children "in the instruction and information of the Lord." "I know," he went on, "you will not let them be idell. If possibell you can let them learne both to read and also to wryte . . . I their father doe here charge them when they come to yeares of discretion that they ioyne themselves with the true profession and Church of Christ wherin nowe I goe before them." Then he advised his wife not to remain a widow long after his death: "For you knowe the ordinance of God, that it is good for a man not to be alone, so it is a great blessing for a woman to have an head." In his profession of faith, Penry denied any intent to disturb

the Queen's peaceable government, acknowledging her supreme authority in both civil and ecclesiastical matters. He summed up the difference between himself and the clergy of the land:

I protest before men and Angels that I judge them members of the body whereof the sonne of God Jesus Christ is the head, only . . . they are not ordered in that outward order which Christ Jesus left in his Church but instead thereof are first subject unto those forenamed offices [Bishops, Deans, etc.]; secondly, have communion with ther false maner of callings into their offices; thirdlie, participate with a great parte of theyr devised works wherin these officers are employed; fourthlie with the false maintenance & livings; fiftlie, are mingled with the knowne profane, ignorant and disordered persons which are joint members with them in their assemblies.

Annexed to the tract is a letter "To the Distressed Faithfull Congregation of Christ in London," in which Penry reflects upon his coming death. He was ready to die and live, he wrote, with Jesus Christ, the Angels, the Prophets, and the Apostles, and "particulerly with my twoe deare brethren master Henry Barrowe & master Iohn Greenwoode which have last of all yealded their blood for this precious testimonie." He enjoined his friends to comfort their brethren in the west and north countries, "that they faint not in these desolate times."

An outstanding spokesman of the Bishops was Richard Bancroft, Chaplain to the Primate, whom he was later to succeed. In his *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings*, published in 1593, Bancroft branded the Puritans "more rebellious" than the Scottish ministers. The book was made up of quotations from "consistorian" writings and the author's comments upon them.⁸⁸ In the same year appeared at Middelburgh *A parte of a register, contayninge sundrie memorable matters . . .*, a collection of over forty tracts, some of which were first printed as early as 1567. Naturally the volume is an extremely important source work.⁸⁹

The culmination of Elizabeth's repressive policy against the Puritans was the Act "to retayne the Queenes Subjects in Obedyence,"⁹⁰ enacted in 1593. It declared that anyone above sixteen who refused to attend divine service, persuaded others to dispute the Queen's authority in ecclesiastical matters, or participated in assemblies under pretence of exercise of religion, etc., would be committed to prison until he made an open submission. Convicted offenders who failed to conform within

three months were to abjure the realm and "departe . . . att suche Haven or Porte and within such tyme as shall in that behalfe be assigned and appointed by the Justices before whom suche Abjuracion shalbe made."

This was the first statute of the 35th year of the Queen's reign. The second was an Act "against the Popishe Recusants."⁹¹ Its aim was described, in pungent language, as the discovery of those "wicked and seditious persons, who tearmyng themselves Catholiks and beinge indeed Spyes & Intelligencers . . . and hydinge their most detestable and devilishe Purposes under a false pretexte of Religion and Conscience, doe secretlye wander and shifte from Place to Place within this Realm . . ." To prevent such wandering and shifting, every "Popishe Recusant" was required to repair to his place of abode, from which he was not to "pass or remove above Fyve Myles." Those who had no home were to go to the place of their birth. Recusants too poor to pay penalties were, like the non-conformists, to abjure the realm and depart. In prison, the Act argued, they "doe lyve for the moste parte in better case, than they colde yf they were Abrode at their own libertie."

In 1593 appeared also Richard Hooker's *Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie*, a work which not only transcends all the religious literature of the time but is justly regarded as one of the outstanding English contributions to political science.

(This is the third of a series of four articles on the history of the Book of Common Prayer begun in the October 1949 issue. The fourth article will appear in the next number.)

Notes

1. *The Statutes of the Realm*, IV, 358.
 2. "I make little doubt they [the compilers] were that select company of divines at Westminster, who had been employed in Sir Thomas Smith's house in Chanon-row about king Edwards Book, and other church-matters," Strype wrote, suggesting that Cecil "had a great hand" in the injunctions. *Annals of the Reformation*, I, 236.
 3. Opening paragraph.
 4. *STC*, 10095; 10096-10102.
 5. Edward Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, I, 202, prints "water" instead of "wafer."
 6. Cardwell (*op. cit.*, I, 206) again erroneously prints "correction" for "co-hertion."
 7. Charles Hardwick, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, Cambridge 1859, 127. Hardwick mentions that Archbishop Laurence was the first to point out the resemblance in his *Bampton Lectures* (Oxford 1839, 41-2). See also E. J. Bicknell, *A Theological Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles*, London 1919, 18-19.
 8. Hardwick wrongly calls it the third (*op. cit.*, 127).
 9. "In the history of the Elizabethan period there are numberless allusions to the quarrel which had only been exasperated by this article in its original form. The clause of it, ejected by the Synod, was to many minds suggestive of interpretations favorable to the school of Zwingli . . ." Hardwick, *op. cit.*, 138.
 10. James Parker, *An Introduction to the Successive Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*, London 1877, xlviii, mentions two issues.
 11. The title was *Articuli de quibus synodo Londoniensi 1562 conuenit*. The *Short-title Catalogue* (10035) lists only two copies, at the Bodleian and at Durham University.
 12. Bicknell, *op. cit.*, 18. The Edwardine Ordinal and its confirmation by the 36th article are discussed at length by Paul R. Rust, O. M. I., *The First of the Puritans and the Book of Common Prayer*, Milwaukee 1949, 155-69.
 13. Cardwell, I, 262.
 14. *STC*, 16291-16325.
 15. *STC*, 10104.
 16. McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders*, no. 117.
 17. *STC*, 10045 and 10046. McKerrow and Ferguson, no. 165. The Library's second copy has a variant title-page (the sign & being spelled out "and").
 18. "By me Thomas ffuler vicar of Stebbing All and every of these articles containyd in this booke were distinctly and publickly read in the parish church of Stebbing upon a Sabbath day in the audience of the whole parish or the most of them, as they were then and there assembled upon the fourteenth day of December in the yeare of our Lorde God one thousand sixe hundred and in the forty fourth yeare of her majesty's reigne. In witnesse whereof we whose names are underwritten have set to our hands."
- (John Bernard and 29 others, many of them signing with a mark.)
- "All and singular of these Articles were severall and distinctly reade openly in the audience of the moste of the parishioners upon a Sabbath day being the

xxvth of January by Thomas ffuler vicar of the parish & church of Stebbing in the xliiith year of our Sovreign Lady Elizabeth &C. Annoque dmi 1600. In witness whereof we have sett to our handes and mostly the day and yeere above written."

(John Bernard and 25 others, again several of them signing with a mark.)

19. *STC*, 16295 and 16325. The 1581 edition is not listed.

20. McKerrow and Ferguson, nos. 111 and 168.

21. Cardwell, *op. cit.*, I, 407.

22. The literature of the subject is, of course, enormous. *The Cambridge Modern History* lists several hundred titles, following chapters viii, x, and xi of Volume III. Henry Martyn Dexter's *Congregationalism . . . as Seen in its Literature*, New York, 1880, includes a bibliography of nearly two thousand items. The Introduction to Champlin Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters*, Cambridge 1912, describes the most important collections of original editions and manuscript collections in England and America. Arthur Jay Klein, *Intolerance in the Reign of Elizabeth*, Boston 1917, discusses at length the most important material, in a "Bibliographical Appendix." And finally John Hungerford Pollen, *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, London 1920, analyzes the sources available in the Spanish State Archives at Simancas, the Vatican Archives, the French Foreign Office, and in the British Record Office.

23. Henry Norbert Birt, O.S.B., *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, London 1907, 195-205, places the number of deprived at 700 and the number of those who abandoned their livings at 1,175. See also John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., *The English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth*, London 1920, 39-41, 46.

24. *Ibid.*, 82.

25. Dr. Sanders as the theologian of Cardinal Hosius had a direct avenue to the Council. The reaction of the Legates, and the anger of the Emperor and of the King of Spain at the idea of Elizabeth's excommunication are discussed by Father Pollen, *op. cit.*, 76-7.

26. The book was reprinted at least eight times. The Prince Collection has a copy of the 1581 edition, published by Thomas Vautrollier — *STC*, 14582; *McAlpin Cat.*, I, 91. An English translation appeared in 1562.

27. Of this last — a folio of over 800 pages — the Library has a copy. *STC*, 14602.

28. The Library has a copy of Stapleton's *A Fortresse of the Faith*, printed at Antwerp in 1565. (*McAlpin Cat.*, I, 54.) It also has *The Castle of Christianitie*, by Lewys Evans, printed in London in 1567. Lewys was a former refugee, returned to the Anglican Church. "I myselfe haue once drunke," he wrote in his dedication to the Queen, "of the puddell of ignorancy, of the muddle of Idolatrie, of the ponde of superstition, of the lake of self will, blindenesse, disobedience, and obstinacie."

29. The expression is used by Father Pollen, *op. cit.*, 111.

30. Cardwell, *op. cit.*, I, 387-95.

31. *STC*, 6078, (10386). It was printed by H. Denham in 1565-66, and re-issued a little later probably at Emden. The Library lacks this and the following items.

32. *STC*, 10387.

33. *STC*, 10388-91. Two of these are attributed to Anthony Gilby, who enjoyed the protection of the Earl of Huntingdon.

34. Archbishop Parker called his opponents "Precisians," applying the

term first to Cartwright. (Strype, *Life of Mathew Parker*, Oxford 1821, II, 40.)

35. *STC*, 22572. The Prince Collection has a copy, bound up with seven other tracts. It is a variant of the first edition, and its title-page reads, *Whether it be mortall sinne to transgresse civil lawes*. In April 1877 Justin Winsor noted on the fly-leaf: "J. Hammond Trumbull believes this to be the identical volume mentioned in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 4th ser. vol. VI, pp. 171-2." The reference is to a letter written by Edward Winslow to John Winthrop on November 28, 1640:

"I received letters lately from Mr. Endecot & your brother Peters, & make bold to trowble you with conveyance of my answers to them, together with many smale pamphlets, bownd up together, which we printed in the Netherlands, occasioned by one of them called the Peoples Plea for the exercise of Prophesie [by John Robinson, printed in 1618, and second in the volume], which he much desired me to procure & send him, & which I entreat you to convey by the first opportunity; for it was long before I could call to minde where I had lent it, & could not procure another in all Plimoth."

The book bears Samuel Sewall's signature, with the date "Octr 12th, 1700."

36. *The Zurich Letters*, Cambridge 1846, 257.

37. The rising in the North is included, of course, in every English history. Yet Henry Norbert Birt's narrative (*The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, London 1907, 475-501) deserves special attention. Making extensive use of the Spanish State Papers, the author, a Benedictine Father, shows step by step the machinations of the Spanish Ambassador in London.

38. Caldwell, *op. cit.*, 328-31.

39. The exact date of the Bull, which is variously given as February, March, and April 1570, is discussed by Father Pollen, *op. cit.*, 159.

40. September 1, 1571. Pollen, *op. cit.*, 162.

41. *Ibid.*, 179.

42. Cardwell, *op. cit.*, I, 332-3.

43. Reprinted in *Puritan Manifestoes*, edited by Frere and Douglas, London 1907.

44. *Ibid.*, 21, 22, 32-3, 37.

45. *Ibid.*, 67, 71.

46. *Ibid.*, 90.

47. *Ibid.*, 108.

48. *The Zurich Letters*, 421, 425, 435.

49. *Ibid.*, 442-3, 445.

50. Bishop Cox spoke of Whitgift as "the most vehement enemy of the schismatics, and the chief instrument against them in our church." *The Zurich Letters*, 542.

51. *STC*, 25427 and 4711. The Library has copies of both works. Whitgift's *Answer*, printed by Henrie Bynneman, bears the date of 1572 on the title-page.

52. Benjamin Brook, *Life and Writings of Thomas Cartwright*, London 1845, 96-126.

53. *STC*, 25430. Reprinted by the Parker Society in three volumes, Cambridge 1851-3.

54. *STC*, 4714 and 4715. The Prince Collection has two copies of the first book (printed probably by Froschauer at Zurich) and a copy of the second.

55. Brook, *op. cit.*, 163-201.

56. *STC*, 24184. The Prince Collection has two copies of Cartwright's translation (printed by Froschauer). One contains the inscription "T. Prince. Sudbury, June 1st. 1713"; and the other, "T. Prince. Boston, Bot of Capt. Issac Dupee. 1740."

57. *Second Replie*, 1575, cxv. Quoted by Arthur Jay Klein, *Intolerance in the Reign of Elizabeth*, Boston 1917, 161.

58. *The Remains of Edmund Grindal*, The Parker Society, London 1843, 387, 389.

59. *Ibid.*, 400-1.

60. Writing in 1578 or 80 to his friend Dr. Vendeville, later Bishop of Tournay, Allen stated, "We feared that, if the schism should last much longer . . . no seed would be left hereafter for the restoration of religion . . . even though an opportunity should offer at the death of the Queen or otherwise." (*Douay Diaries*, London 1878, xxvi.) In these reminiscences, Allen made no mention of the intended missionary work. He spoke of the latter at length in his report to Everard Mercurian, General of the Jesuits. Discussing the conversions in England, he remarked that the College of Douay was their great mainstay: "This our Seminary, especially designed for that enterprise both by her constitution and the fixed resolve of her sons . . . will always furnish men who are very obedient. Not one so far, when his name has been called by the Rector, has ever refused, although day by day we have assigned many to this apostolate." (*Catholic Record Society*, IX, 67.)

61. *Douay Diaries*, xxxviii.

62. *Catholic Record Society*, IX, 63-65.

63. *Ibid.*, XXII, 1.

64. Quoted by Pollen, *op. cit.*, 293.

65. Nowell's *Catechismus* was first printed in London in 1570. (The Prince Collection has a copy of the 1576 edition, *STC*, 18705.) The work was issued with a Greek translation made by William Whitaker, Nowell's nephew, in 1573. (Of this, *STC*, 18707, the Prince Collection has a copy; the first page bears the inscription "Sam Sevallus; Augt 2, 1697," and one on the fly-leaf, "Joseph Sewall hunc Librum possidet. Anno D. 1704.") The English translation, *A Catechisme or first Instruction and Learning of Christian Religion*, made by T. Norton, appeared in 1570. (The Benton Collection has a beautiful copy of the 1575 edition, *STC*, 18710a.) The *Catechism* adapted "ad usum scholarum" was published in 1574, and together with a Greek translation made by Whitaker in 1575. (Of the latter, the Prince Collection has the 1578 and the 1638 editions, *STC*, 18728 and 18729, as well as of the one printed in 1683.)

66. *Edmund Campion*, London 1867, 215. The same writer explains: "Campion thought that all was done when he had reconciled his convert to the Catholic Church, had taught him the faith, and made him partaker of the sacraments. Parsons looked farther; he desired and laboured for the conversion of England, and he thought that nothing could effect this but the overthrow of Elizabeth; therefore his aim was for the organization of a party on which he could rely when the Pope gave the signal for the attack." (*Op. cit.*, 195.)

67. The item, "imprinted at London by Felix Kyngston, for Cuthbert Burby and Edmund Weaver, 1606," is not listed in the *Short-title Catalogue*. The Prince Collection has a copy.

68. *The Statutes of the Realm*, IV, 657.

69. Cardwell, *op. cit.*, I, 400-4.

70. *The Statutes of the Realm*, IV, 704-05.

71. *STC*, 9189. The full title of the pamphlet is *A Declaration of the Causes moving the Queen of England to giue aide to the Defense of the People afflicted and oppressed in the lowe Countries*. The Prince Collection has a copy.

72. *The Statutes of the Realm*, IV, 706-707.

73. The Library has a copy of the 1627 edition of George Carleton's *A Thankfull Remembrance of God's Mercie* (STC, 4642). This "Historicall Collection of the great and merciful Deliverances of the Church and State of England" by the Bishop of Chichester, first published in 1624, has a chapter on "Babington's Treason." Each of the eighteen chapters is illustrated with an engraving by Hulsius.

74. From the Report of Count Olivares, Spanish Ambassador in Rome, quoted by Martin Haile, *An Elizabethan Cardinal*, William Allen, London 1914, 282. The biographer, who writes from a Catholic point of view, discusses at length the negotiations leading to Allen's elevation to the purple.

75. Henry Soames, *Elizabethan Religious History*, London 1839, 597, gives the figures by year.

76. STC, 8208. The Library's copy has, on the verso of the title-page, the note: "T. Prince. Sudbury in England. June 1, 1713."

77. *Ibid.*, 4.

78. *Ibid.*, 9.

79. Champlin Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters*, Cambridge 1912, I, 94-117.

80. STC, 12340. Prince wrote the date of "November 5, 1740" on the first page of his copy, adding "sent by ye Rev. Mr. Loftus of Rotterdam." The title-page is missing.

81. STC, 1524 and 1521.

82. "An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England" in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, London 1798, III, 141.

83. Probably by William Fulke, Master of Pembroke Hall at Cambridge, a great scholar but a violent polemicist.

84. STC, 10770. It was printed by Robert Waldegrave, without date but probably in 1585. The Prince Collection has a copy.

85. STC, 10771. The book, of which the Library has a fine copy, was printed in 1587, apparently at Middelburgh.

86. William Pierce, *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, London 1908, 151-152, 157, 177-91. The seven Marprelate tracts were reprinted, with excellent notes, by the same writer in 1911. Some of the earlier publications, however, are still useful — notably, Edward Arber's *An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy*, London 1879, and Henry Martyn Dexter's *Congregationalism*, New York 1880, 61-128.

87. STC, 19608 and 19611.

88. STC, 1344. The Prince Collection has a copy of the first edition, as also the 1640 reprint (STC, 1345) and an early 18th-century edition. In the latter Prince wrote of the author: "He was a tyrannical & cruel Persecutor of the Puritans."

89. STC, 10400. The Prince Collection has a copy.

90. *The Statutes of the Realm*, II, ii, 841-3.

91. *Ibid.*, 843-6.

Johnson as Poet

By JOHN ROBERT MOORE

AT an annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America in December 1948, Mr. Allen Tate asserted that Dr. Samuel Johnson's critical theory was inherited by Edgar A. Poe. Poe admired Johnson's biting wit, but despised his conception of poetry. He spent his literary career in a crusade against what he called "the heresy of *The Didactic*," and he wrote to a friend:

"Give me," I demanded of a scholar some time ago, "give me a definition of poetry." . . . he proceeded to his library, brought me a Dr. Johnson, and overwhelmed me with a definition. Shade of the immortal Shakespeare! I imagine to myself the scowl of your spiritual eye upon the profanity of that scurrilous Ursa Major. Think of poetry, dear B——, think of poetry, and then think of—— Dr. Samuel Johnson! Think of all that is airy and fairylike, and then of all that is hideous and unwieldy; think of his huge bulk, the Elephant! and then — and then think of the "Tempest" — the "Midsummer Night's Dream" — Prospero — Oberon — and Titania!

If Mr. Tate's remark was not *meant* for a truth, let us recall Dr. Johnson's opinion of "those, who, being able to add nothing to truth, hope for eminence from the heresies of paradox . . ."

Johnson was seventy-two when he completed his *Lives of the Poets*. The booksellers had called on a man of the past to interpret the poetry of the past. Goldsmith, his one great disciple in poetry, had been dead for seven years. Johnson had written no considerable poem for a third of a century. One of his poems — praised as the clever work of a young man — had gone out of date with its topical allusions. Another had never got past its first separate edition, so that Garrick laughed at it:

. . . his "London," which is lively and easy . . . his "Vanity of Human Wishes," which is as hard as Greek. Had he gone on to imitate another satire, it would have been as hard as Hebrew.

When *Irene* had failed on the stage, Johnson took its failure "Like the Monument." In later life, when he heard part of it read aloud as poetry, he withdrew from the company and confessed sadly, "Sir, I thought it had been better."

In 1781 Johnson was an easy butt for wits and scribblers, lovers of blank verse or pastoral elegies, enemies of Church and established order, friends of Gray and admirers of Milton. As light an opponent as Horace Walpole could belabor him with the feather which was his pen. As gentle a soul as Cowper could cry, "Oh! I could thresh his old jacket, till I made his pension jingle in his pocket."

When he was dead, his biographers (as Dr. Arbuthnot said of the biographies issued by "the unspeakable Curll") added a new terror to death. They admired him as moralist or lexicographer or conversationalist; not one understood him as poet. Arthur Murphy said that if he had devoted himself to the muses he would have rivalled Pope. This was unfair to both; imagine Johnson's rivalling Pope in versification or Pope's rivalling Johnson in the integrity of his emotions — Johnson's writing *The Rape of the Lock* or Pope's writing the elegy on Mr. Robert Levet. For Sir John Hawkins, he had failed as poet, critic, and translator; worst of all, the dying Johnson had kept thinking about his Saviour when he should have been drawing up his will.

One might expect better from Boswell; but readers who come at Johnson through Boswell have no conception of Johnson the poet. For poetry Boswell preferred to rely on the judgment of anyone else, as when he wrote, ". . . I am satisfied with the just and discriminative eulogy pronounced upon it by my friend Mr. Courtenay." When he trusted his own taste, he actually believed that Johnson wrote Hawkesworth's "Winter; An Ode," with such fustian as "Phoebus holds a doubtful sway"; and he called it "an admirable specimen of his genius for lyrick poetry."

Sir Joshua Reynolds and a few other friends pushed ahead for a statue of Johnson. The Literary Club pledged two guineas per member, but Sheridan and Gibbon declined to pay their assessments. Appeals were made for public subscriptions; but money came in slowly, with many refusals. The Royal Academy was induced to vote one hundred guineas toward the statue in St. Paul's, but George III vetoed the subscription. Even so small a tribute to Johnson's fame was snatched away by his king. Finally Reynolds promised to pay whatever the public subscriptions lacked. There was still the question of the epitaph. To guarantee its Latinity, Dr. Samuel Parr was asked to write

it. Parr *preferred* to say nothing about Johnson's poetry, but in the first draft he condescended to use the phrase "Probabili Poetae." Under protest from the men he called "the Johnsonians," he substituted the pompous and empty words which, he said, "fill one with a secret and invincible loathing."

Hawkins not only affirmed that Johnson was no poet; he gave a physiological explanation. Shakespeare had written of "the poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling," and Johnson had no eye to roll. The same impeachment might be made against the near-sighted Congreve or Pope or Tennyson — the blind Milton or the traditionally blind Homer. One sees less with the eye than with the brain; a leading article in the London *Times Literary Supplement* shows that Johnson made a good record as an observer in the Highlands before the Wordsworths or Keats arrived. Johnson's faults, wrote his critical contemporary Robert Potter,

... candour will partially set down to his frame of body, ill adapted to a perfect mind, and acknowledge him . . . to have been no inconsiderable person, but a great author, notwithstanding his Dictionary is imperfect, his Rambler pompous, his Idler inane, his lives unjust, his poetry inconsiderable, his learning common, his ideas vulgar, his Irene a child of mediocrity, his genius and wit moderate, his precepts wor[l]dly, his politics narrow, and his religion bigoted.

In *The Review of English Studies* Herbert G. Wright comments:

... for all his antagonism . . . Potter was manifestly impressed by the powers of Johnson. The giant might have imperfections in his armour which rendered him vulnerable, but a giant he still remained.

A REVIEWER of *Johnson's England*, that comprehensive survey published in 1933, pointed out that Johnson is mentioned in every chapter: "He bestrides the age like a Colossus." Yet his "London" is mentioned only once — in a discussion of the prices paid by booksellers; and "The Vanity of Human Wishes" only once — in a footnote listing the books published in quarto. Why the disparity between Johnson's reputation and the neglect of his writings?

An editorial in the *New York Times* in March 1936, when the Fettercairn Papers were under consideration in the Edin-

THE
VANITY
OF
HUMAN WISHES.
THE
Tenth Satire of *Juvenal*,
IMITATED
By *SAMUEL JOHNSON*.



L O N D O N :

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and Sold by M. COOPER in Pater-noster Row.

M.DCC.XLIX.

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burgh Court of Session, gave the Boswellian explanation: "If old Dr. JOHNSON isn't dumped off Lethe's wharf, it's because JEMMY, no friend to water, hangs on to the old boy as if he were a bottle." The Boswellians have been numerous from the first. Burke is said to have thought "Johnson greater in talking than in writing, and greater in Boswell than in real life." Hazlitt declared of the Johnson of Boswell: "He made none but home thrusts, but desperate lounges, but palpable hits. No turgidity; no flaccidness; no bloated flesh: — all was muscular strength and agility." But he had little to say for Johnson's Johnson: ". . . he was neither a poet nor a judge of poetry." Carlyle glorified the heroic hater of cant, but ignored the poet. Most other writers of the nineteenth century repeated irrelevant details from Boswell — as if a student of Greek philosophy remembered nothing of Socrates but the round belly.

Some have denied the significance of what Johnson had to say. Taine remarked that he had nothing worth saying: "His truths are too true; we already knew his precepts by heart." Coleridge said, "Johnson had neither eye nor ear; for nature, therefore, he cared, as he knew, nothing."

Joseph Wood Krutch affirms that in "London" Johnson was merely paraphrasing Juvenal — because "eighteenth-century buildings were not in the habit of collapsing." I wonder about this. In the eighteenth century there was a great deal of jerry-building. In 1927 an eighteenth-century wall in the City collapsed, exposing a sturdy wall of thin Roman bricks. In 1945 one could see thousands of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century houses which had fallen during the Blitz or which had been shored up to prevent falling. Daniel Defoe, for a time the head of a brick and tile factory, tells us that in the early eighteenth century London brickmakers often adulterated their product with "laystall stuff," and that such bricks crumbled. Pierre Jean Grosley, a distinguished French visitor in 1765, confirmed what Defoe had said of the bricks, and he added a new remark about the wood which was used in the new houses in London: "Small pieces of deal supply the place of beams; all the wainscoting is of deal, and the thinnest that can possibly be found." When Johnson wrote "Here falling houses thunder on your head" he knew what he was talking about.

Johnson's literary power lay in saying just what he meant. T. S. Eliot remarks, "It is the certainty, the ease with which he hits the bull's eye every time that makes Johnson a poet." Ever since Johnson's death it has been considered sport to turn the sonorous opening lines of "The Vanity of Human Wishes" into nonsense by the parody, "Let observation with extensive view observe mankind extensively." A clergyman named William Shaw began the game, and it was repeated with variations by Wordsworth and Coleridge and De Quincey, even by Byron and Tennyson. Greatly as Hazlitt admired Johnson's personality, his only allusion to "The Vanity of Human Wishes" was a quotation of Wordsworth's trite burlesque. If the lines could not be defended, this would mean no more than Professor Greenough used to say — that Johnson had to waste the first paragraph before he warmed up to his subject. For Johnson's precision of statement, let me cite one example out of hundreds.

According to Voltaire, Charles XII of Sweden was killed by a cannonball. This error is repeated by the eminent English historian Basil Williams in three recent works. Contemporary accounts had it that Charles was shot with a *musketball*. Rumor reported that he was killed by one of his own men, and his aide confessed the murder. In 1917, when a commission had his body exhumed, medical and ballistic experts reported that he was killed by an iron grape-shot, the ball entering near the left eye and passing out above the right cheek. Amid this welter of contradictions, Johnson somehow got to the heart of the mystery in one intensely poetic phrase: "a dubious hand." This is not only better history than the statements of Voltaire and Basil Williams; it is so full of passionate feeling for the tragedy of Charles's life that I am impelled to quote for Johnson what Johnson said of Pope: If he "be not a poet, where is poetry to be found?"

KENNETH CAMERON, in an article in *Studies in Philology*, has shown that Shelley based much of his critical philosophy on Imlac's discourse in *Rasselas*. Like Imlac, Johnson would have said, "the province of poetry is to describe nature and passion, which are always the same," or as Wordsworth expressed it, "Poetry is the image of man and Nature."

Johnson's finest poems measure up to Wordsworth's criterion of "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" — even more to Wordsworth's dictum, "Poets do not write for Poets alone, but for men." This is all the more true because Johnson, even when he expressed his own deepest feelings, universalized human experience — instead of being constrained by the agoraphobia of egotism which beset nearly all the Romantics but Scott. In *The Reader's Johnson* C. H. Conley remarks that in "Slow rises worth by poverty oppressed" there "was a new note of sympathetic understanding. For almost the first time in the history of English poetry the voice of the commonalty was clearly heard." In his *Johnson Agonistes* Bertrand Bronson recognizes "the boiling, turbulent imagination of a poet capable of fine frenzy." Later he adds, "In the deepest sense of the word . . . he was a poet, a *maker*."

Reynolds sought to bring this out in his portraits of Johnson; he insisted on having it recorded in the epitaph. Even Coleridge remarked on the emotion in Johnson's conversation. It is true of Johnson, as of Scott, that his poems do not fully express the poetry of his nature. Still, how wonderful they are — written in snatches during a life so largely devoted to drudgery and to mental and physical suffering. Hawthorne esteemed "his two stern and masculine poems, 'London,' and 'The Vanity of Human Wishes.'" Tennyson admired Samuel Johnson's earnestness, and said that "certain of his couplets . . . for their 'high moral tone,' were not surpassed in English satire." Byron ranked the Drury-Lane Prologue as one of the two best in English. He wrote in his diary after reading "The Vanity of Human Wishes":

... 'tis a grand poem — and *so true!* — true as the 10th of Juvenal himself. The lapse of ages *changes* all things — time — language — the earth — the bounds of the sea — the stars of the sky, and every thing "about, around, and underneath" man, *except man himself* . . . The infinite variety of lives conduct but to death, and the infinity of wishes lead but to disappointment.

James Ballantyne asked Scott what poems gave him most pleasure:

He answered — Johnson's; and that he had more pleasure in reading *London*, and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, than any other poetical composition he could mention . . .

When Scott told of the deep feeling aroused in his unmusical mind by the violin playing of his fellow-countryman Sandie, he quoted Johnson; when he began *The Surgeon's Daughter* with a tribute to the village doctor, he quoted Johnson; when he climaxed *Ivanhoe* with the fall of Richard, he altered Johnson's lines on Charles of Sweden:

*He left the name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a TALE.*

When, almost dying, he finished *Castle Dangerous*, the last line he ever sent to press was another from "The Vanity of Human Wishes,"

Superfluous lags the veteran on the stage.

How could anyone fail to recognize Johnson as a poet? Why (in the words of Percy H. Houston) "the opprobrium heaped upon him by men who stole his wares and paid him with insult and contempt"?

Twenty-five years ago I pointed out (in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*) that Wordsworth denied his great debt to Macpherson's *Ossian*; but his bitterness toward *Ossian* was that of a proud man unwilling to admit that he had been deceived. No such excuse can be alleged for his injustice to Johnson. As the most eminent critic of English poetry, Johnson had to be put out of the way. Wordsworth tells of the idea he got from Coleridge:

... every author, as far as he is great and at the same time *original*, has had the task of *creating* the taste by which he is to be enjoyed: ... for what is peculiarly his own, he will be called upon to clear and often to shape his own road: — he will be in the condition of Hannibal among the Alps.

The legend says that Hannibal cleared his way among the Alps with *vinegar*; just so the New Poets proceeded. Wordsworth and Coleridge never said anything fair about Johnson. They could not escape him: they could not venture as far as the "Preface to Shakespeare" without reading of the style "to be sought in the common intercourse of life . . ." Some of the most telling ideas in Wordsworth's prefaces were taken almost verbatim from *The Rambler* and *The Lives of the Poets*. Even

Hazlitt could not refrain from pointing out that Coleridge had lifted one of his shrewdest critical remarks from the master: "This expression is borrowed from Dr. Johnson. However, as Dr. Johnson is not a German critic, Mr. C. need not be supposed to acknowledge it."

Johnson knew ballads all his life; three times he was mentioned gratefully in Dr. Percy's preface for help in the *Reliques*, five years before Wordsworth was born. But once he parodied a modern ballad by Percy, "pretty enough," as he said, but too long and too flat in style. Wordsworth made his attack on Johnson's good-natured parody the climax of his Preface to the Second Edition, and Coleridge (who perhaps made the original suggestion to Wordsworth) repeated much of the same attack in his *Biographia Literaria*. These two great poets asserted as a new discovery that deep feeling might be expressed in simple language; and they attacked the author of the elegy on Mr. Robert Levet, of which one writer has said that it is "bathed in tears." Landor sneered at Johnson as incapable of appreciating the "purely English" style of Defoe; but it was Johnson who paid Defoe two of the highest compliments in the language, and it was Wordsworth who lifted his eyebrows at the "trading Journalist of King William's time."

The central fact in Johnson's poetical criticism is the integrity of his view of life. He has been called a neo-classicist: Hazlitt said with strange incomprehension, "All his ideas were cast in a given mould, in a set form; they were made out by rule and system . . ." This is almost the reverse of the truth; Johnson was a man of infinite variety. Test his prejudices, if you like: Boswell dared (successfully) to bring him to dine with John Wilkes. Swift, fellow Tory and High Churchman, never once expressed anything but scorn for Dryden, for the religion of a Dissenter, for the Scottish people, and for Robert Walpole. Johnson shared most of Swift's reasons for dislike; but he confessed "some partial fondness for the memory of Dryden," he paid noble tribute to the religion of Isaac Watts, he wrote one of the most sympathetic books on Scotland, and he called Walpole "a fixed star," anticipating the modern historians who have recognized him as a great statesman.

Far from being a slave to convention, Johnson wrote in No.

156 of *The Rambler*: "It ought to be the first endeavour of a writer to distinguish nature from custom; or that which is established because it is right, from that which is right only because it is established." His attack on excessive interest in minute details was an insistence that one should not lose the forest in looking at the trees — that one should see life steadily and whole.

When he condemned a poem, it was most often because he doubted the author's sincerity. In poetry, as in the conduct of human affairs, his philosophy was stated in his exhortation to Boswell, "clear your *mind* of cant." His poetical *credo* might be summed up in a verse from the Bible, the one book which Arthur Murphy felt confident Johnson had ever read through: "Keep thy heart with all diligence; for out of it are the issues of life."

Henry James's First Novel

By EDWARD STONE

THE fond, painstaking accounts of his novels and tales which Henry James provided in his prefaces for the collected edition of 1907-9 may in themselves have aroused speculations about the omitted works. Only ten years later Joseph Warren Beach examined the "repudiated children" in *The Method of Henry James*, and showed good cause for their rejection. But the great interest accorded to James since that time should lead one to reconsider his early discarded writings — now with the aim of discovering what merit, or what promise of his characteristic qualities, they might reveal. Such a pursuit might begin with James's first novel, *Watch and Ward*, which first appeared in the August-December 1871 issues of *The Atlantic Monthly*. James was then twenty-eight years old.*

It is a short novel which begins with a suicide, includes a near-kidnapping, and ends with wedding bells. Professor Beach suggests that James would probably have been glad to blot it out of existence. Yet *Watch and Ward* is far from being a total loss. Its opening part, for example, is a rather successful attempt at satire. The leading character, Roger Lawrence, strikes the reader as a "solemn little fop." As he prepares to propose for the third time to Isabel Morton, he carefully draws on his lavender gloves. "He was remarkable for the spotlessness of his linen, the high polish of his boots, and the smoothness of his hat. He carried in all weathers a peculiarly neat umbrella. He never smoked; he drank in moderation. His voice, instead of being the robust barytone which his capacious chest led you to expect, was a mild deferential tenor." Isabel refuses him, but his humiliation soon gives way to a different, more complicated emotion. Before he set out on his interview, he was buttonholed in the hotel by a seedy-looking stranger, who desperately asked

**Watch and Ward* was published in book form in 1878 by Houghton, Osgood and Co. "It has now been minutely revised and has received many verbal alterations," the author wrote in a Note. The quotations in this article are from the text as it was printed in *The Atlantic Monthly*.

a hundred dollars of him, a request which he denied. The next morning he discovers that the man has blown his brains out in the next room, leaving an orphaned twelve-year-old daughter. She is a forlorn, sweet, and homely girl. Tears rise in Roger's eyes. "Was it the inexpugnable instinct of paternity? Was it the restless ghost of his buried hope?" the author wonders. At any rate, Roger adopts Nora. His is a zealous care, a labor of love. At first he fears that she may be "simply stupid"; later, that she may become "too clever."

As the years pass, Nora begins to emerge from nonentity into an attractive, stately young woman who likes the piano and who worships Roger. While she is away at school, Roger travels extensively. (Now that he is thinking of her as his future "perfect" wife, he must in turn become a wise, an educated husband.) Abroad he successfully withstands temptation in the form of Teresita, a child-like Peruvian enchantress, and returns priding himself on his steadfastness. But it is at this point that his troubles begin in earnest. When Nora is sixteen, Roger's first rival appears in George Fenton, a young Missourian, who has come East apparently to claim kinship with Nora but who is actually after Roger's money. Then by the time Roger sends her off to Rome for a year with the now-widowed Isabel, Nora has become infatuated with Hubert, Roger's cousin, a diletantish young parson who devotes the Sabbath Day to the Lord and the other six to His female creations. It is Hubert who receives her on her return from Italy as Roger has just caught pneumonia; and he makes full use of his opportunities until Isabel threatens him with the exposure of his engagement to another girl. Thanks to Nora's loving ministrations, Roger recovers, and he proposes to the girl. Nora, after her moments of astonishment, breaks into laughter; but when she learns from Isabel that during all the years of his solicitude and generosity Roger has nurtured the expectation that she will marry him, she runs away to George in New York (begging Roger by note not to follow and offering any future Lawrence offspring free music lessons).

But, after Rome, George seems as vulgar as his scrap-iron yard; and he comes within an ace of holding her for a ransom of five thousand dollars from Roger. This leaves as possible

asylum only Hubert, who receives her with fear and whose confusion becomes confounded at the sudden arrival of his fiancée. But by now Nora's eyes are open, and the pursuing Roger is already coming into view, holding his hat in one hand and wiping the perspiration from his forehead with the other. "My dear Nora," he says, passing her hand through his arm and listening to her confession of shame, "what have *we* to do with Hubert's young girls?" And so they marry. "Roger, the reader will admit," the author concludes, "was on a level with the occasion, — as with every other occasion that subsequently presented itself."

We are spared in *Watch and Ward* the villains and "sophisticated heroines" of James's earliest efforts, but the later pages of the novel are not much better than those others. The familiar Jamesian vagueness about facts is already noticeable; but there is barely enough to cavil at. And, when the fleeing Nora steps off the train in New York in the early morning, the city immediately comes into focus by virtue of such strokes of pictorial realism as appear later in *The Bostonians* and *Washington Square*:

A Dutch grocer, behind her, was beginning to open his shop; an ash-barrel stood beside her, and while she lingered an old woman with a filthy bag on her back came and poked in it with a stick; a policeman, muffled in a comforter, came lounging squarely along the pavement and took her slender measure with his hard official eye . . . She ventured into an establishment which had *Ladies' Café* inscribed in gilt letters on a blue tablet in the window, and justified its title by an exhibition of stale pies and fly-blown festoons of tissue paper.

All this is part of what James was to recall at the end of his exiled life as "a squalor wonderfully mixed and seasoned," a "vast succulent cornucopia."

The style is surprisingly straightforward, without any of the involutions which mark the style of the later works. Furthermore, the young James could achieve a dramatic effect that is both restrained and eloquent. Here is Roger starting up town, in search of Nora:

The weather was perfect; one of those happy days of February which seem to snatch a mood from May, — a day when any sorrow is twice a sorrow. Winter was a-melting; you heard on all sides, in the still sunshine, the raising of windows; on the edges of opposing

house-tops rested a vault of vernal blue. Where was she hidden, in the vast bright city?

It is also remarkable with what refreshing effect the young James practiced the art of irony and pathos. He sets the tone at the start with Isabel rejecting Roger: "She esteemed him more than any man she had known, — so she told him; but she added that the man she married must satisfy her heart. Her heart, she did not add, was bent upon a carriage and diamonds." Teresita is done even better: "Her charm was the charm of absolute *naïveté*, and a certain tame unseasoned sweetness, — the sweetness of an angel who is without mundane reminiscences; to say nothing of a pair of liquid hazel eyes and a coil of crinkled blue-black hair. She could barely write her name . . ." And the estimate of the adolescent Nora's attractiveness is particularly knowing: "She had . . . an elusive grace. She had reached that charming girlish moment when the crudity of childhood begins to be faintly tempered by the sense of sex. She was coming fast, too, into her woman's heritage of garrulity."

Finally, what other American novelist of 1871 could write that "he trod on tiptoe in the region of her early memories," or could speak of "the summer twilight of her mind, which seemed to ring with amorous bird-notes"?

But what is finest in the novel is James's infinite care for characterization, manifested as the hero's personality unfolds. For Roger Lawrence is something more than a hastily-sketched figure. Thus his first reaction of annoyance and anger at Fenton's attentions to Nora soon merges into shrewdness: it occurs to him that Fenton's "precursory love-making" may eventually awaken the naive girl to his own aspirations. Consequently he adopts a policy of watchfulness and courtesy toward his adversary, very much like that which Rowland Mallett in *Roderick Hudson* was to adopt toward Christina Light, or Maggie toward Charlotte in the *Golden Bowl*. All are instances of the "fine measurements," the "intimate impressions," for which, James maintained in the preface to *The American*, "ninety-nine readers in a hundred have no use whatever."

There was yet another kind of "intimate impression" that in time became perhaps more characteristic of Henry James's art than any other: namely, his "historic sense." Even in *Watch*

and *Ward* one may find it lurking in the nostalgic lecture which Hubert delivers to Nora as she prepares to go to Rome:

"Your real lover of Rome oscillates with a kind of delicious pain between the city in itself and the city in literature. They keep for ever referring you to each other and bandying you to and fro. If we had eyes for the metaphysical things, Nora, you might see a hundred odd bits of old ambitions and day-dreams strewing that little terrace [where Hubert once stayed]. Ah, as I sat there, how the Campagna used to take up the tale and respond to the printed page! If I know anything of the lesson of history . . . I learned it in that empurpled air!"

That air of the past — of England, of France, of Italy, or even of New York — never ceased to enchant Henry James himself. Whether the Clement Searle of "A Passionate Pilgrim," the Hyacinth Robinson of *The Princess Casamassima*, the Lambert Strether of *The Ambassadors*, or the Frank Granger, the Owen Wingrave, the White-Mason of the lesser-known pieces: old houses, old cities, and old civilizations make deep "metaphysical" inroads into their consciousness. Then in the last, posthumous novel, *The Sense of the Past*, Ralph Pendrel takes the final step and actually projects himself bodily back into the last century. Fantastic as that step may seem, it was the ultimate development of a persistent passion in Henry James that may be found budding briefly in the first novel he wrote.

The Correspondence of R. W. Griswold

This is the tenth installment of the descriptive catalogue of the Library's Griswold Collection — of the correspondence of Rufus Wilmot Griswold, critic, poet, and anthologist, and editor of *Graham's Magazine* from 1842-1843. Earlier portions appeared in *More Books* for March, April, May, and June 1941, February and September 1943, and in the July and October 1949 and the January 1950 issues of *The B.P.L. Quarterly*.

POE, Edgar Allan. L.S. To John P. Kennedy. 3 pp. 9 x 6 in. Jan. 22, 1836.

[Richmond, Va.] Describes the improvement in his health, spirits, and financial situation. Asks advice in selecting an attorney.

Poe, *Letters*, No. 54. Partial copy in an unknown hand of original manuscript in Peabody Institute Library.

— L.S. To John P. Kennedy. 4 pp. 9 x 6 in. Feb. 11, 1836.

[Richmond, Va.] Describes the difficulty of getting the picture [of Kennedy, Mrs. Kennedy, and the latter's sister] from Mr. Hubbard [the painter]. Acknowledges that Kennedy is right about the satire in the *Tales*. Mentions [Thomas W.] White's kindness to him in the *Messenger*.

Poe, *Letters*, No. 57. Copy of original manuscript in P. I. L.

— L.S. To John P. Kennedy. 3 pp. 9 x 6 in. June 7, 1836.

[Richmond, Va.] Outlines his financial difficulty, and asks loan of \$100. Describes success of the *Messenger*. Asks for contribution to it. Refers to his marriage.

Poe, *Letters*, No. 68. Copy in an unknown hand of original manuscript in Bradley Martin Collection, New York.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 7 x 8 in. May 29, 1841.

[Philadelphia.] Sends poems [for *Poets of America?*]. Calls attention to likeness between Longfellow's "Beleaguered City" and his own "The Haunted Palace." Accuses Longfellow of plagiarism. Sends "memo" containing biographical data.

Poe, *Letters*, No. 112. The memo has been separated from the letter and is now on indefinite loan from the Griswold Collection to the Poe Foundation, Richmond, Va.

— L.S. To Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 22, 1841.

[Philadelphia.] Describes the establishment of *Graham's Magazine*, and requests an "arrangement" with Longfellow.

Poe, *Letters*, No. 115. Copy, in an unknown hand, of original manuscript in Craigie House, Cambridge, Mass.

- A.L.S. To Timotheus Whackemwell [John N. MacJilton]. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Aug. 11, 1841.
[Philadelphia.] Returns a cipher sent to him as a practical joke.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 121. Beneath is a note by J[ohn N.] M[acJilton].
- L.S. To John P. Kennedy. 6 pp. 9 x 6 in. June 1841.
[Philadelphia.] Describes the establishment of *Graham's Magazine* and suggests an "agreement" with Kennedy.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 114. Copy in an unknown hand of original manuscript in Peabody Institute Library.
- L.S. To Frederick W. Thomas. 4 pp. 11 x 8 in. Sept. 21, 1842.
[Philadelphia.] His failure to keep appointment with Thomas on Sunday was due to illness. Will send copy of *Clinton Bradshaw*.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 144. Copy in an unknown hand of original manuscript in the Huntington Library.
- L.S. To Frederick W. Thomas. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 19, 1842.
[Philadelphia.] Tells of his failure to obtain a government appointment. Asks Thomas to lay the matter before Robert Tyler again.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 148. Copy of the original, now unlocated, by "C.W.F.," according to note signed thus at bottom of p. 4.
- A.L.S. To Frederick W. Thomas. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 25, 1843.
[Philadelphia.] Sends copy of *Saturday Museum* [of Feb. 25, 1843] containing biography and caricature of himself. Announces founding of the *Stylus* and his plans for it. Wants to secure contributions from Thomas, Robert Tyler [son of the President], and Judge [Abel Parker] Upshur. Has given Professor [Thomas] Wyatt letter of introduction to Thomas.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 153.
- A.L.S. To Frederick W. Thomas and Jesse E. Dow. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Mar. 16, 1843.
[Philadelphia.] Describes his trip home from Washington. Expresses gratitude to Thomas and Dow. Messages to Dr. Lacey, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Tyler. Subscriptions to his magazine increasing.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 156. On pp. 3-4 a note in the handwriting of F. W. Thomas explaining Poe's lapses from sobriety. Draft or copy of this letter, also autograph, in the Enoch Pratt Free Library. See Quinn, A. H. and Pratt, R. H., *Edgar Allan Poe Letters and Documents in the Enoch Pratt Free Library*, New York 1941, pp. 16-18.
- L.S. To James Russell Lowell. 1 p. 11 x 9 in. June 20, 1843.
[Philadelphia.] Thanks Lowell for his poem [not named], which he cannot use since his magazine will not be published. Has handed it to [R. W.] Griswold. Is eager to meet Lowell.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 161.
- L.S. To Samuel D. Craig. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Oct. 24, 1844.
[New-York.] Replies to Craig's insulting letter, returns Craig's letter to [Nathaniel Parker] Willis, which Poe refuses to deliver.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 183. At top of manuscript is written "Copy of a letter sent to Mr. Craig, Oct. 25 mailed by me. Maria Clemm."

- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Jan. 16, 1845.
[New-York.] Desires a reconciliation.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 190.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 24, 1845.
[New-York.] Sends manuscripts for publication [in sixth edition of *Poets of America*]; "Mesmeric Revelation," "Marginalia," "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," "The Man That Was Used Up." Has taken a third interest in the *Broadway Journal*.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 193.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Apr. 19, 1845.
[New York.] Returns corrected proof of "The Raven."
Poe, *Letters*, No. 196.
- A.L.S. To Frederick W. Thomas. 10 x 8 in. May 4, 1845.
[Postmarked New York.] Describes his work on the *Broadway Journal*. Cannot pay his debt to [Jesse E.] Dow.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 197. On page 3, a note in Thomas's handwriting describing the qualities of Dow [now dead].
- A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Sept. 28 [1845?].
[New-York.] Asking Griswold to send Vol 2 of the *Messenger*.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 210.
- A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Oct. 26, 1845.
[New-York.] Requests loan of fifty dollars to help finance the *Broadway Journal*, which he now controls.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 211.
- L.S. To John P. Kennedy. 2 pp. 9 x 6 in. Oct. 26, 1845.
[New York.] Has assumed control of the *Broadway Journal*. Requests loan of fifty dollars.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 213. Copy, in an unknown hand, of the original manuscript in the Peabody Institute Library.
- A.L.S. To Louis A. Godey. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. July 16, 1846.
[New-York.] Resents the publication of his "Reply" [to Thomas Dunn English?] in the [*Philadelphia Spirit of the*] *Times*. Promises legal action.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 237.
- A.L. To Jane Ermina Locke. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Mar. 10, 1847.
[New-York.] Explains his reply to [Nathaniel P.] Willis's editorial on him in the *Home Journal* [Dec. 26, 1846?]. His delay in writing was caused by a "sorrow so poignant" [Virginia Poe died Jan. 30, 1847].
Poe, *Letters*, No. 251. Poe's labored draft of a letter which may or may not have been sent.
- A.L.S. To Frederick W. Thomas. 3 pp. 13 x 8 in. Feb. 14, 1849.
[Fordham, near New-York.] Praises literature as a profession. Despises Bostonians and calls James Russell Lowell's *Fable for Critics* "miserably weak."
Poe, *Letters*, No. 304. Page 3 is devoted to a notice in Poe's writing of Mrs. S[arah] Anna Lewis. A pencilled note states "this notice was never published."

- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 6 in. June 28, 1849.
[New-York.] Requests substitution of his own notice of Mrs. [Sarah Anna] Lewis for the one in *Female Poets of America*.
Poe, *Letters*, No. 321.
- A.L. To Mrs. Maria Clemm. 3 pp. 9 x 7 in. [Sept. 1849?]
[Richmond?] Describes the enthusiastic reception of his lecture [in Richmond]. Plans for leaving Fordham. Mentions Annie [Richmond].
Poe, *Letters*, No. 330.
- D. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.
[N.p.] Some account of John Allan and his second wife, Louisa Patterson. Poe's temperament and an early experience with John Allan.
Written in two hands, both unknown.
- letters to. See Anthon, Charles; Botta, Anne Charlotte (Lynch); Bryan, Daniel; Burton, William Evans; Chivers, Thomas Holley; Cooke, Philip Pendleton; Dew, Thomas Roderick; Ellet, Elizabeth Fries (Lummis); Eveleth, George W.; Fisher, E. Burke; Gallagher, William Davis; Gillespie, William Mitchell; Griswold, Rufus Wilmot; Harper and Brothers; Hopkins, John Henry, Jr.; Hopkinson, Joseph; Horne, Richard Henry (Hengist); Ide, Abijah M., Jr.; Kennedy, John Pendleton; Lea and Blanchard; Maupin, S.; McJilton, John Nelson; Poe, William; Ramsay, Arch; Ritchie, Anna Cora (Ogden) Mowatt; Sigourney, Lydia Howard (Huntley); Simms, William Gilmore; Stebbins, Mary Elizabeth (Moore) Hewitt; Thomas, Frederick William; Thomson, Charles West; Tomlin, John; Tucker, Beverley; Tyler, Robert; Weiss, Susan (Talley); White, Thomas Willis; Willis, Nathaniel Parker; Wirt, William.
- See also. Benjamin, Park; Benton, Joel; Browning, Elizabeth (Barrett); Clemm, Maria (Poe); Colton, Walter; Conrad, Robert Taylor; Eveleth, George W.; Greeley, Horace; Lewis, Estelle Anna Blanche (Robinson); Lippard, George; Locke, Jane Ermina (Stockweather); Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth; Sartain, John; Thomas, Frederick William; Thompson, John Reuben; Tucker, Beverley; Wallace, Horace Binney; Willis, Nathaniel Parker.
- Poe, William. A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 15, 1843.
[Baltimore.] Congratulates him on winning a prize from the *Dollar Newspaper* with the "Goldbug." Asks for news. Cautions him against "a too free use of the bottle."
Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 145-146.
- Pollock, Edward. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 26, 1851.

[Philadelphia.] Sends his poem "Italy" for publication in the *International Magazine*, while the subject is of interest.

"Italy" appeared in *Sartain's Magazine* for January 1852.

Poore, Benjamin Perley, 1820-1887. A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 6 x 4 in. Dec. 18, 1854.

[Indian Hill Farm, near Newburyport.] Sends his prospectus for a "work of value" [a forth-coming book] and asks Griswold's opinion.

Post, Israel. A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Dec. 7, 1847.

[New York.] Requests an article for the *Union Magazine*.

Written on the second sheet of a broadside announcing the *Union Magazine*.

Potter, Mrs. J. C. [Emma Isadore (Chivers)]. A.L.S. To W. M. Griswold. 3 pp. 7 x 5 in. Feb. 4, 1897.

[Guilford, Conn.] Supplies information about the life and works of her father, Dr. [Thomas Holley] Chivers, and his controversy with Edgar Allan Poe.

— A.L.S. To W. M. Griswold. 2 pp. 7 x 5 in. Feb. 18, 1897.

[Guilford, Conn.] Supplies information about her father, Dr. [Thomas Holley] Chivers.

— See Brown [Fannie?] Isabelle (Chivers).

Poussin, Guillaume Tell, 1794-1876. A.L.S. To——. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Dec. 25, 1847.

[112 rue Bicher?] Manifestation of American public opinion in his behalf would be useful [in securing diplomatic post?]. Wants Putnam to publish his work in English. Discusses American and French politics.

Poussin's *The United States; its Power and Progress* — a translation of the third (1848) ed. of *De la puissance Américaine* . . . was published by Lip-pincott, Grambo and Co., Philadelphia 1851.

Powell, Thomas, 1809-1887, letter to. See Legaré, James Mathews.

Praed, Winthrop M. See Greeley, Horace.

Prentice, George Dennison, 1802-1870. A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold?]. 1 p. 9 x 7 in. Oct. 14, 1851.

[Louisville, Ky.] Sends a specimen of Miss Mattie Griffith's poetry. Does Griswold desire her services as correspondent?

— See also Dyer, Sidney.

Prescott, William Hickling, 1796-1859. L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 6 x 4 in. N.d.

[Beacon Street.] Asks if *Poets of America* and *Prose Writers of America* are copyrighted in England.

Putnam, Geo. P. and Co. Account with R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Apr. 10, 1852.

[10 Park Place, New York.] Business account showing a balance owing to Geo. P. Putnam and Co. from the publication and sale of *The Memorial*. *The Memorial* [to Frances Sargent (Locke) Osgood] appeared in 1851.

— L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 11 x 9 in. Oct. 1, 1852.

[10 Park Place, New York.] Invite him to contribute to a proposed monthly magazine. Present sales account for [Griswold's] *Memorial*.

Appears to be a duplicated circular. *Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art* first appeared in 1853.

QUINCY, Miss [Eliza Susan], 1798-1884. A.L. to R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 6 x 4 in. Apr. 13, 1854.

[1 Beacon Hill Place.] Informs him of the provenance of Copley's portrait of Mrs. [Dorothy Quincy] Hancock, in the possession of Mrs. Cushing of Little Harbor, and of portraits of Sir William Pepperell and others in the Portsmouth Museum. Written in the third person.

Quincy, Samuel. See Trumbull, John.

RAMSAY, Arch. A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 2 pp. 9 x 8 in. Nov. 30, 1846.

[Stonehaven, Scotland.] Asks if the pamphlet *Mesmerism in Articulo Mortis*, published under Poe's name by Short and Co., is "genuine."

Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 268-269, *Mesmerism in Articulo Mortis* was the title under which *The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar* appeared in England.

— A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 2 pp. 9 x 7 in. Apr. 14, 1847.

[Stonehaven, Kincardineshire, Scotland.] He is unable to supply information about the Allan family, concerning whom Poe has inquired.

Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 284-285.

Randall, Samuel Sidwell, 1809-1881. See Raymond, Henry Jarvis.

Randolph, J. W. A.L.S. To —. 1 p. 9 x 8 in. Apr. 17, 1855.

[Richmond, Va.] Sends copies of Jefferson and Beverley. If addressee reviews Beverley, Randolph would like to receive a copy.

In 1853, J. W. Randolph published a new edition of Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, and in 1855, Robert Beverley's *The History of Virginia. In Four Parts*.

Raymond, Henry Jarvis, 1820-1869. A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Dec. 23, 1837.

[University of Vermont, Burlington.] Offers Griswold honorary membership in Phi Sigma Nu Society; thanks him for Washington Irving's autograph.

Gris. Corr., p. 15.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 3, 1838.

[U(niversity of) V(ermont).] Promises Griswold a contribution [to the *Vermont*]. Asks for name of author of the *New Yorker* article *Thoughts on Poetic Excellence*, which he wishes to answer.

Gris. Corr., p. 21.

- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 9 x 8 in. July 18, 1838.
[Postmarked Burlington, Vt.] Asks for "papers" containing a translation from Italian and a poem, "Stanzas," both by Robertson.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Sept. 24, 1838.
[Burlington, Vt.] Describes [Charles Gamage] Eastman's pretensions to aristocracy. Reports on meeting [Horace] Greeley. Asks about Griswold's projected anthology [*Poets of America*, 1842?] and *History of Vermont*.
Gris. Corr., pp. 22-23. R. W. Griswold never published a *History of Vermont*.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 29, 1838.
[Burlington, Vt.] Requests loan of [James Gates] Percival's collected *Poems* and the successive numbers of his *Clio*.
Percival's works appeared as follows: *Poems*, 1821, *Clio I* and *II*, 1822; *Prometheus Part II with Other Poems*, 1822; *Poems*, 1823; *Clio III*, 1827.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. July 20, 1839.
[University of Vermont, Burlington.] Praises *Brother Jonathan* and describes friends' enthusiastic opinion of it. Dullness of the *Vermont*. Tells of college activities and gives gossip of mutual friends.
Gris. Corr., pp. 29-31.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Oct. 31, 1839.
[University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.] Comments on the appearance of the *New World* and *Signal*, and severely criticises the *Boston Notion*. Literary gossip.
Gris. Corr., pp. 31-32.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 9 x 8 in. Dec. 5, 1840.
[30 Ann St. (New York).] Asks about possible openings with the *Boston Times* and the Philadelphia weeklies. Describes progress of the *Annual* [*The Biographical Annual*, which appeared in 1841?].
On sheet with letter from Horace Greeley to R. W. Griswold, Dec. 5, 1840.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. [Dec. 12 (?), 1840.]
[*New-Yorker* Office.] Promises to send [William Cullen] Bryant's *American Poets*. Asks what is to be done with ms. of S[amuel] S[idwell] Randall's *Life of* [Solomon] Southwick.
Bryant's *American Poets* appeared in October 1840; apparently Randall's *Life of Southwick* was never published.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. [Dec. 18, 1840.]
[Office of the *New Yorker*.] Requests a copy of the *American Sentinel* for Horace Greeley. Reports on the progress of the *Biographical Annual*, and on other literary affairs in New York.
Gris. Corr., p. 50.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 7, 1841.
[Office of the *New-Yorker*, 30 Ann St.] Suggests himself as New York correspondent for the [Philadelphia] *Standard*. Calls the *Future* a "stupendous humbug." Gives news of Horace Greeley.
Gris. Corr., pp. 55-56.

- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. [Nov. 9, 1841?] [N.p.] Encloses biographical sketch of [John Gardiner Calkins] Brainard.
Gris. Corr., p. 101. Eighteen poems, with a biographical sketch of Brainard appeared in *Poets of America*, 1842.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Oct. 21, 1842.
 [New York.] Promises to send a notice. Has finished his *Life of Clay*, 198 octavo pages, for [James B.] Swain.
The Life and Speeches of Henry Clay, edited by James B. Swain, New York 1843. 2 vols. *Memoir of Henry Clay*, in vol. I, pp. (7)–198.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 11, 1845.
 [Knickerbocker Office, New York.] Asks Griswold to send him copy of the *Philadelphia Gazette* [1837?] containing article on [Nathaniel Parker] Willis.
Gris. Corr., p. 164.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 11 x 8 in. May 17, 1845.
 [New York.] Asks for review copy of the *History of the Exploring Expedition* [Charles Wilkes's *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition in 1838–41*. Philadelphia 1845]. Approves Griswold's projected *Biographical Encyclopaedia*. Expresses regret for the writer's quarrel with [Nathaniel Parker] Willis.
Gris. Corr., pp. 166; 175–6. Griswold's *Encyclopaedia of Biography, Ancient and Modern* was advertised as in press by Harper and Brothers in 1849, but never appeared.
- A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. [1856?]
 [Times Office.] Asks for a promised notice of [Samuel Griswold] Goodrich.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Sunday night. [1843?]
 [Courier office.] Apprising Griswold of an editorial position on the *U. S. Gazette*.
- See also Greeley, Horace.
- Read, Thomas Buchanan, 1822–1872. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 7 in. Dec. 21, 1846.
 [Newark.] Names reviewers to whom copies of his book should be sent for review.
Poems by Thomas Buchanan Read was published in Boston by W. D. Ticknor and Co., in 1847.

(To be continued)

Rouault's *Cirque* and *Passion*

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

GEORGES ROUAULT, now in his seventy-ninth year, is one of the most celebrated French painters, whose religious sympathies are expressed throughout his best work. He has created more paintings and prints of the life of Christ than perhaps any other living artist.

Born in Paris on May 27, 1871, Rouault grew up under the guidance of his grandfather, who was a great admirer of Rembrandt, Courbet, Manet, and also a collector of Daumier's lithographs. At the age of fourteen, the youth was apprenticed to a restorer of old stained glass, an association which had a permanent influence upon him. Pervading aspects of his art were to resemble the use of glass in his compositions of intense reds, blues, and greens, held in with heavy black lines employed for the drawing of the figures and surrounding areas. At the same time, Rouault attended evening classes at the Ecole des Beaux Arts under Delauney and Gustave Moreau. As Moreau's favorite pupil, after the master's death in 1898, he was named director of the Musée Gustave Moreau, a post which he retains to this day.

By 1905 and 1906 Rouault's expressionism reached a climax of power, seldom attained by any other artist in the time. He used clear, flat areas of broad, transparent lights and strong shadows, which seem to outline the figures entirely or sometimes serve purely as accents without consideration of the source of light. From this period on, he developed through several phases, being perhaps influenced by Cézanne till 1927, and working with fantastic devotion to satisfy the strenuous demands of his publisher Vollard.

An exhibition of Rouault's color plates have been arranged in the Print Department for May.

In recent years France has led the way in the publication of fine editions illustrated by her modern masters. The printing of etchings or lithographs combined with beautiful typography has tasked editor, author, artist, and printer with such detailed work that, as a rule, only limited editions have been possible, de-



Woodcut from Rouault's "Cirque," Greatly Reduced

signed for a small group of bibliophiles, museums, and private collectors. Artists like Bonnard, Vuillard, Picasso, Maillol, Matisse, Rouault, and others have lent their talents to these projects.

The Rouault prints on exhibition — plates chosen from the *Cirque* and the *Passion* published by Vollard in 1938 and 1939 — constitute the artist's most successful venture in color. No longer conscious of his early training in stained glass making, Rouault builds his compositions in painter-like fashion with rich, flowing tones. His vividly clad harlequins, dancers, and circus riders are familiar subjects, which, without the customary heavy black outlines, become a little less dramatic. These colorful figures seem to have been executed with more ease of expression than most of the artist's work. All the characters suggest despair and suffering. It is obvious that Rouault saw the circus as a complex, tragic show of human folly.

A devout Catholic, Rouault executed his plates for the *Passion* at a time when most artists had little religious feeling. His color takes on a Gothic aspect, which imbues his work with unusual aesthetic beauty. Rouault himself once said that he felt his real life was in the age of the cathedrals. These plates are not religious paintings because they represent Christ, but because they reflect a moral conviction which reaches a high religious level.

The wood-engravings which accompany the color plates gave the publisher much difficulty. Rouault's drawings were interpreted conscientiously, and were engraved carefully by Georges Aubert; however, certain passages were so delicate that the printer, Aimé Jourde, found that the ordinary presses produced mediocre results. He constructed a special press, operated both by hand and power, which could produce, through application of a minimum of ink and enough pressure, a sensitive and rich impression. Rarely have wood-engravings been printed with more beautiful quality or texture. All the gradations and color value of the original drawings are preserved.

In these illustrations Rouault disregarded the conventional ways of making plates. The technique of his etchings, so called, needs some explanation, for his method could not be more baffling to the amateur. First, the preliminary drawing was reproduced on the copper plates by the photo-mechanical process of heliogravure. He then used various instruments known to the

engraver, as well as every acid and tool known to the etcher, in order to achieve the tones and values of his images. The process closely resembles the old technique of aquatint used by eighteenth-century English and French engravers. Rouault engraves with a burin, shades with emery paper and roulette, and applies pure acid with a brush without any wax. It was in this manner that he obtains his famous rich blacks and velvet-like textures. In fact, he uses nearly every technique, excepting aquatint, mezzotint, and stipple-engraving.

For thirty-three years Rouault gave much of his unusual talent to Vollard. However, the latter died before he could publish Rouault's most ambitious work, now known under the title of *Miserere et Guerre*. Begun in 1916 after thirteen years of preparation, there were completed fifty-seven plates of extraordinary dramatic power and size. Evidently, they were intended for exhibition and wall display. Although the illustrations were based on Suarès's text, Rouault made the story entirely his own. Vollard could never finish the project, and only proof impressions found their way to collectors and museums during his lifetime.

After living for a while with these prints, their real meaning dawns upon us. We find then that, along with the almost brutal presentation of the subject, a certain airy tenderness tempers the extraordinary vision. Rouault's work, seemingly carried to the border of caricature, thus becomes beautiful, subtle, nervous, and sensitive. The model possesses only the barest detail and documentation sufficient to illustrate, with utter simplicity, the artist's message. Even those subjects which deal with the most cruel aspects of the life of Christ have poetic quality. Rouault's dynamism no longer needs explanation, for never has a keener mind or a surer hand been employed to produce a more lasting impression.

Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

Letters by Commodore Porter

THE Library has acquired a small group of autograph letters by Commodore David Porter, one of the most colorful personalities in American naval history.

Porter's fame is based mainly upon his outstanding conduct during the War of 1812. By then, at the age of thirty-two, he was the veteran of many naval adventures. At the outbreak of the war, his rank was that of captain and his ship the *Essex*. He captured the *Alert*, the first ship taken from the English. In October 1812 Porter received orders to sail for the Pacific, to protect American whalers there. A year later he "annexed" one of the Marquesas Islands to the United States, but the Capital failed to take notice of his action. At Valparaiso the *Essex* was blockaded by two British ships, and after a spectacular defense, in which she lost 155 men out of 225, was defeated. In 1815 Porter published his experiences in the *Journal of a cruise made to the Pacific Ocean*, containing fascinating descriptions of the life of the islanders. An English magazine severely criticized the book for its "immoralities," calling Porter himself "an execrable marauder." In 1822 the work was reprinted, with the author's reply to his censurer.

When the East India Squadron was formed in 1823 to combat piracy, Porter, always desirous of action, was appointed its commander-in-chief. At Foxardo, Puerto Rico, one of his officers, investigating a receiver of stolen goods, was arrested and maltreated. Thereupon Porter landed men on the island, and, having gained control of the fort, forced a public apology. Much to his surprise, he was ordered home to attend an investigation. Amid growing publicity, the investigation turned into a court martial, and Porter, accused of disobedience, was suspended from the service for six months. However, the judges declared that his guilt was attributable to "an anxious disposition on his part, to maintain the honor and advance the interest of the nation and the service." Even before the court martial Porter published *An Exposition of the Facts and Circumstances which Justified the Expedition to Foxardo*, a collection of letters and documents of 107 pages. The *Minutes of Proceedings of the Courts of Inquiry and Court Martial, in Relation to Captain David Porter* was printed by the authorities themselves — and ran to no less than 576 pages. (The Library has copies of both works.)

Deeply embittered, Porter resigned from the Navy and accepted an offer of the Mexican government to become the commander-in-chief of their navy. From Vera Cruz, where he arrived on April 9, 1826, "after escaping the chase of a Brig of War, supposed Spanish," he wrote James Kirk Paulding, the novelist, once his colleague on the Board of Naval Commissioners:

The Mexicans seem determined to commence a new, and to relieve me from our difficulty in the way of a complete reorganization by discharging within a few days every foreign officer, except Americans, which they have retained. They have been looking for me with great anxiety, and much is expected of me. I see no difficulty in the way of a reformation. The Mexicans are said to be very brave, and very docile, and I should not despair of making even them seamen. They certainly look to our Navy for the means of producing a favorable change in the State of their Navy. If I am to be employed in the civil department I must receive an equivalent in pay for what I may lose in honor — but I hope to divide my time between civil and active duties if I should accept.

Despite Porter's optimism, the Mexican venture turned into a fiasco. It lasted for two years, during which time he received little coöperation and still less recompense from the government. After twice escaping assassination by disgruntled Mexicans, he was glad to return to Washington, now under the friendly administration of Andrew Jackson. His health was failing. In March 1828, just before sailing for Boston, he wrote to Paulding:

You will find me doubtless much altered, for every one tells me I am in appearance, and I feel it both in body and mind. For a long time I have only been able to exercise by riding in a carriage, and can scarcely rouse myself to write a letter unless urged to do so by my official duties . . .

A year later he was named Consul-General to Algiers. On April 22, 1829, he sailed from Boston "in a small brig with four men before the mast," as he again informed his friend. "She is a trifling common," he continued, "but my duty tells me I ought to be at my post."

Even before his arrival there, the Barbary States were conquered by the French. Porter was appointed to the newly created position of *Chargé d'Affaires* to Turkey, where he proceeded in August 1831. Life at Constantinople, and especially at San Stephano on the Sea of Marmora, where he took up his summer and later his permanent residence, agreed with Porter. In his carriage he made a good many trips around the Turkish capital, writing long letters about them

to Paulding. In 1835 the latter published these in two volumes, *Constantinople and its Environs*. "Little is borrowed," Paulding remarked in his Preface, "from any other source than the actual personal observations of a man whom the intelligent reader will very soon recognize as one of great shrewdness, keen sagacity, and an extensive acquaintance with various parts of the world." Hostility pursued Porter even to Turkey, as may be seen from his letter of November 27, 1835, also sent to Paulding:

I received a highly gratifying letter from the Department of State yesterday, and I feel that it will save me from sinking under the feelings that have so long oppressed me, and which it would be impolitic and improper in me to explain, and [help] to redress injuries from a person too contemptible to punish, and injurious too to my publick character which I have my whole life been laboring to establish and keep pure. It was more than I could bear, when the means of redress were taken from me. For nearly two long years I have been laboring under the agony of rascally and concealed intrigue, but it is now at an end, and I feel it is possible for me to recover my health and that life may be worth taking care of.

I have passed through an ordeal of political intrigue worse even than the court marshal, but I hope I shall now be permitted to keep my flag flying to the last. I will *not* "give up the ship." So long as I can keep it "nailed to the mast" but I have been near sinking!

Yet his life at San Stephano was a happy one. Each morning he "made the colors" with true naval jauntiness; and each Fourth of July he held a reception for all visiting Americans, to whom he delivered a patriotic address. In 1839 he made a trip to the United States, returning to Turkey as Minister Resident. After twelve years of diplomatic service, the most peaceful of his stormy life, Porter died on March 31, 1843. His remains were brought back to this country and are buried in West Philadelphia.

His biography, *Memoir of Commodore Porter*, was published in 1875 by his son, David D. Porter, by then Admiral of the United States Navy. A still more famous survivor was his ward, Admiral David G. Farragut.

JANE LACY

The Christian Harp of Ten Strings

THE *Decachordum Christianum* — "A Christian Harp of Ten Strings" — by Marco Vigerio, printed by Girolamo Soncino at Fano in 1507, is a folio of 269 leaves printed in a large, handsome

Roman type. The title-page, with its wide black border ornamented with designs of antique urns, masks, and floral and animal forms, is striking. Under the title is a panel with a cardinal's hat, its long tassels flanking an armorial shield.

There are ten full-page illustrations, seven of them signed by the initials F (in reverse) and V, presumably those of the artist; and all are enclosed in the same border as the title. The woodcuts correspond to the ten divisions of the book, which are the Annunciation, Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Presentation, "the Solemnity of Psalms," the Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and Pentecost. Strong in line, with expressive faces and well-balanced compositions, they have a northern atmosphere which suggests the influence of Dürer and other transalpine masters. The works of Benedetto Montagna and Zoan Andrea Vavassore have been mentioned as possible models — but both of these artists produced copies of Dürer's engravings. Besides the full-page woodcuts, some thirty small pictures are interspersed in the text, placed like historiated initials yet without containing any letters. These, too, portray the life of Christ.

Vigerio dedicated his book to Pope Julius II, asking him to accept "the fruits of the tree" which his predecessor and uncle Sixtus IV had planted by giving the author ample opportunities for study. The preface begins "*Deus canticum novum cantabo tibi in psalterio Decachordo psallam tibi*," the sentence combining lines from two psalms: the 91st and 97th in the Vulgate. But what, the author asks, is this new song and what is the *Decachordum* on which David invites us to play? "The new song," he declares, "is the song of the grace of the New Testament, and the harp of ten strings means the ten feast-days of the Christian religion." The work contains meditations on the mysteries of the Christian faith, and elucidates the meaning of the events celebrated by the great feasts of the Church.

Vigerio (Vigerius) was born in Savona in 1446 and entered the Franciscan order at an early age. His talents lay evidently in scholarship, but he was to distinguish himself also as a man of affairs. After completing his studies, he went to Padua to teach theology there. The elevation of his great-uncle to the Papal See as Sixtus IV was of no small account for his advancement. At twenty-five he became professor at the Sapienza in Rome and at thirty, Bishop of Sinigaglia. Julius II, also of the Rovere family, favored Vigerio no less; in 1505 he made him a Cardinal. At the fifth Lateran Council, in which the unity of the Church was the great issue, Vigerio was a lively participant. He died in 1516.

The printer, Girolamo Soncino, was of the famous family which won a distinguished reputation for its Hebrew books. Gersone, a grandson of the founder of the printing house, transferred the business to Constantinople; Girolamo Soncino, however, kept his headquarters at Fano. While Gersone printed Hebrew books, Girolamo, a Christian convert, produced the works of Greek, Latin, and Italian authors.

The Library's copy is bound in cream colored leather. The front cover has an oblong panel, with an oval in the center in which is engraved a traditional "Lamb of God."

MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

A Forerunner of Euphuism

IN 1528, at Seville, appeared Antonio de Guevara's *Libro Aureo de Marco Aurelio*. An expanded text was published at Valladolid the following year, under the title *Libro Llamado Relox de Principes*. The work made a great impression both in and outside of Spain. Guevara, a Franciscan monk, was the royal chronicler of Charles V, who appointed him Bishop of Mondoñedo. His *Golden Book* is a didactic novel. It presents the example of the Roman philosophizing, describing his words and actions in both public and family affairs. The last third of the book is devoted to letters by the Emperor, expressing his opinions on many topics. Guevara wanted to pass off his novel as authentic history, stating that he found the treatise in Florence, "among the bokes lefte there by Cosme de Medicis, a man of good memory." The deceit was exposed; Guevara, however, maintained that even the great historians of antiquity wrote fiction. The popularity of his work continued undiminished.

The Ticknor Collection of the Library has copies of the Barcelona 1532 and Madrid 1658 editions. It also has copies of the French version, *Lorloge des Princes*, printed in Paris in 1540, and bearing the book-plate of the Duke of Sussex, son of George III; of the Italian version, *Aureo Libro*, published in Venice in 1562; of the second edition of Sir Thomas North's translation, *The Dial of Princes*, printed by Richard Tottill in London in 1568; and of the Latin translation, *Horologium Principum*, issued in 1664 at Frankfort. To this group has recently been added a copy of the English translation by John Bourchier, Lord Berners, *The Golden Boke of Marcus Avrelius*. This latter had an important influence on the development of

Euphuism, the elaborately artificial style which flourished in England in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

Berners' translation is based on a French version of the earliest Spanish edition, made by René Berthaut de la Grise, and published in Paris in 1531. It appeared in 1535, and went through twelve editions in the next half-century. The Library's copy is of the fifth edition of 1546; only six other copies are known. The book is a small octavo of 315 pages, printed in black letter. Neither the author's nor the translator's name appears on the title-page. The border, a compartment with a cherub head above and the date 1534 in the sill, was often used by the printer, Thomas Berthelet. (McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-page Borders*, no. 30.) A note on the fly-leaf reads: "Robert Southey from John Kenyon. London, February. 1835." Beneath the inscription is Southey's book-plate — a leafy arch over a shield, a helmet, and the hilt of a sword.

Lord Berners's career resembles in some respects that of Guevara. Born in 1467 at Tharfield in Hertfordshire, he was a descendant of Dame Juliana Berners who wrote *The Boke of Saint Albans*, a treatise on hunting, hawking, and heraldry. He was probably educated at Oxford, and was early initiated into political life. A leading figure at the court of Henry VIII, he served as Chancellor of the Exchequer and, in 1518, as Ambassador to Spain. In 1520 he became Deputy-General of Calais. The new office allowed him time to follow his literary interests. He translated Froissart's *Chronicles*, 1523-25, and two chivalric romances — *Huon of Burdeaux* and *Arthur of Lytell Brytayne*, the first published in 1539 and the second about 1555.

In his version of *The Golden Boke*, Berners skillfully preserved the devices of the original, such as antithesis, alliteration, parallelism, synonyms, and the extensive use of analogies from nature and the classics. A passage from the prologue may illustrate this style:

There is nothyng so entier, but it deminisheth, nor nothyng so hole, but that is wery: nor nothing so strong, but that it breaketh, nor nothyng so well kept, but that it corrupteth. So all these thynges tyme acheueth and burieth, but onely trouthe, the whiche (of the tyme, and of all thyng that is in the tyme) triumpheth.

Berners's nephew, Sir Francis Bryan, who himself translated Guevara's *Dispraise of the Life of a Courtier*, added an Envoy to *The Golden Boke*, expressing admiration for the work as an "example of vertuous liuying." He considered the style significant and, accepting Guevara's claim as to the origin of the work, he wrote:

Certainely as greatte preyse as ought to be geuen to the auctoure,

is to be geuen to the translatours, that haue laboryously reduced this treatyce out of Greeke into Latin, and out of Latine into Castilian, and out of Castilian into Frenche, and out of French into English, written in high and swete styles. O ryght happy trauayle, syth that suche fruite is yssued thereof . . . A ryght precious meate is the sentences of this boke: But fynally the sauce of the saied swete style moueth the appetyte. Many bookes there be of substantiall meates, but they bee so rude and so vnsauery, and the style of so small grace, that the fyrste morcell is lothsome and noyfull: And of such bookes foloweth to lye hole and sounde in Lybraries, but I truste this will not.

Guevara's style was imitated by some of the early Elizabethans who sought to make their writing formal and ornamental. George Fetti's *A Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure*, 1576, and John Lyly's *Euphues*, 1579, mark the highest point of the school, but others also followed it, notably Greene, Spenser, Lodge, and Chettle. Euphuism gave way before the attacks of Nashe (himself a former cultist) and Harvey (too dry ever to be one), and especially before the more diffuse, metaphorical style introduced by Sidney's *Arcadia*. Finally the great poets and dramatists of the next decade put an end to the movement — but not without assimilating some of its characteristics.

ELAINE KIMMELMAN

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THE
Boston Public Library
QUARTERLY

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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Of plimoth plantation

And first of y^e occasion, and Iudgments ther vnto; the which
that y^e may truly vnfould, y^e must beginne at y^e very roote & y^e
of y^e same. The which y^e shall endeuor to manifest in a plaine
style; with singuler regard vnto y^e simple truth in all things;
at least as ~~far~~ near as my slender Iudgements can attaine
the same.

1. Chapter

It is well knowne vnto y^e godly, and iudicious, how ever since y^e
first breaking out of y^e lighte of y^e gospell, in our Honourable Re-
gion of England (which was y^e first of nations, whom y^e Lord adorn-
ed therewith, after y^e gre^tte darknes of popery which had cover-
ed & ouerspred y^e Christian world) what wars, & oppositions euer
since Satan hath raised, maintained, and continued against the
saints, from time, to time, in one sorte, or other. Some times by
all the world, & in all countreys, as those which are manifest in

THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

JULY 1950

The Occasion for Plymouth Plantation

(The last of a series of four articles on the history of the English Book of Common Prayer.)

By ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

THE whole scope and manner of Hooker's *Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie* are different from the quibbling, quarrelsome tracts of most of the other polemicists. This is the work of a profound thinker who had thoroughly assimilated his enormous learning. A justification of the Church of England, it is a treatise in both theology and political science, placed in the framework of a universal philosophy. Writing in a small village in Wiltshire, the author was the first Englishman to achieve a fusion of the Reformation and the Renaissance. Hooker was a giant of the Elizabethan age, and his work is the highest intellectual achievement of the Anglican Church.

The style is worthy of the high aim of the work. It has the courtesy and dignity of a superior mind, intent on conciliation rather than provocation. "Think not," Hooker addressed the Puritans, "that ye read the words of one who bendeth himself as an adversary against the truth which ye have already embraced; but the words of one who desireth even to embrace together with you the self-same truth, if it be the truth."¹ With a mighty effort, Hooker tried to restore the unity of the Church — and the *Ecclesiasticall Politie* has the serenity and sweetness which only works destined to failure can have.

The discussion begins with a long preface. Hooker calls Calvin "incomparably the wisest man that ever the French church did enjoy," and admits that his *Institutions* and *Expositions of Holy Scripture* had won deserved honor. However, the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard were no more shackling for the Church of Rome than are Calvin's writings for his followers. The Puritans gain their popularity by imputing corruptions to the established church government, and by so interpreting Scripture as if it were always corroborating their own contentions. Hooker questions their claim to a special illumination, and chides them for their assumption of persecuted innocence. He would be glad to give them an opportunity for a solemn conference, but it would be in vain to expect them to abide by the decision of authority. The Puritan innovations would affect the prerogatives of the Crown, and endanger all learning. The example of the Anabaptists, who first were considered harmless, might serve as a warning.²

The first book, the most theoretical part of the work, declares "what law is, how different kinds of laws there are, and what force they are of according unto each kind." The author treats of the eternal law of God, which is unsearchable for us: then he explains the law of nature, which "ordereth the natural agents" and "bindeth them each to serve unto others good"; the heavenly law, which the angels obey; and the law of reason, which "comprehendeth all those things which men by the light of their natural understanding evidently know, or at leastwise may know, to be beseeming or unbeseeming, virtuous or vicious, good or evil for them to do."³ The tenth chapter offers a penetrating analysis of the theory of the Social Compact, derived from classical and medieval writers, but presented here for the first time in English as the basis of society. It states:

To take away all mutual grievances, injuries, and wrongs, there was no way but only by growing unto composition and agreement amongst themselves, by ordaining some kind of government public, and by yielding themselves subject thereunto; that unto whom they granted authority to rule and govern, by them the peace, tranquility, and happy estate of the rest might be procured. Men always knew . . . that strifes and troubles would be endless, except they gave their common consent all to be ordered by some whom they should agree upon: without which consent there were no reason

that one man should take upon him to be lord or judge over another; because, although there be according to the opinion of some very great judicious men a kind of natural right in the noble, wise, and virtuous, to govern them which are of servile disposition; nevertheless for manifestation of this their right, and men's more peaceable contentment on both sides, the assent of them who are to be governed seemeth necessary.⁴

A transition from absolutism to a constitutional regime occurred: "They saw that to live by one man's will became the cause of all men's misery. This constrained them to come unto laws, wherein all men might see their ties beforehand, and know the penalties of transgressing them." In addition to the supernatural laws, Scripture contains also many natural or rational laws. It is sufficient to the end for which it was instituted; yet a knowledge of Nature is also needed, for "they both jointly and not severally either of them" are complete.⁵

In the second book, Hooker shows that it is wrong "to make the bare mandate of Scripture the only rule of all good and evil in the actions of mortal men." "Admit this," he writes, "and what shall the Scripture be but a snare and torment to weak consciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, scrupulosities, doubts insoluble, and extreme despairs?" The necessities of life urge men "to do that which the light of nature, common discretion and judgement of itself directeth them unto." And he warns: "We must take great heed, lest in attributing unto Scripture more than it can have, the incredibility of that do cause even those things which indeed it hath most abundantly to be less reverently esteemed."⁶

Following up this reasoning, the third book denies that the form of church government is so set down in Scripture that no change is permitted. It is needful to have a polity in all churches, but not one particular polity in them all. Matters necessary to salvation are of a different nature from ceremonies, and therefore one should distinguish between things of faith and things of action. No saying of Christ requires the immutability of laws concerning ecclesiastical government. Further, the functions of the Church cannot be executed in an orderly way without the recognition of superiors and subordinates.⁷

The fourth book discusses rites and ceremonies. According to the Puritans, the Church has departed from the ancient sim-

plicity of Christ and his Apostles; but who can determine what the situation was in Apostolic times? And why should one follow the pattern of one age only? The Puritans demand the relinquishment of everything "Popish"; but the mere fact that the Roman Church has certain things is not enough reason for the Church of England to reject them. Some of the rites of the Church of Rome are followed also by the Church of Geneva. As to those ceremonies which have been "grossly and shamefully" abused, the question is whether they are vicious in their very nature — and this no one maintains.⁸

Only these four books were included in the first edition of the work as published by John Windet in London in 1594.⁹ The title-page speaks of "Eyght Bookes" and the Table of Contents states the subject of each; further, the Preface includes a summary of the eight books, "the whole entire body whereof being compact." On the last page, however, the author announced: "I haue for some causes thought it at this time more fit to let goe these first foure bookes by themselues, then to stay both them and the rest, till the whole might together be published. Such generalities of the cause in question as here are handled, it will be perhaps not amisse to consider apart, as by way of introduction vnto the bookes that are to follow concerning particulars . . ."¹⁰

The fifth book, with a long dedicatory epistle to Archbishop Whitgift, appeared in 1597. While the first four books comprised 210 folio pages, the fifth alone extended to 280. Its larger part is a detailed defence of the Book of Common Prayer and the various organs of church government. Hooker argues that the places set apart for divine service ought to be fitting for the solemn occasion. The Puritans criticize the sumptuousness of cathedrals, but has God revealed anywhere that "it is his delight to dwell beggarly?" They dislike public and especially formal prayer; but hymns and psalms are not wont to be conceived upon sudden inspiration. Hooker readily admits that ministers should be resident upon their livings, and that the plurality of benefices showed a "worldly humor." He recommends to those in power to consider "what it is to betray for gain the souls which Christ hath redeemed with blood."¹¹

At the end, there is again a brief note to the Reader — "Haue

patience with me for a small time, and by the helpe of Almighty God I will pay the whole." However, Hooker died in 1600, and the publication of the last three books had to wait for a half century. The sixth and eighth books were first printed in 1648, and the seventh was first included in the 1662 edition of the entire work.¹² The genuineness of the posthumous books was questioned by Izaak Walton, who in his *Life of Hooker*, published in 1665, stated that the manuscripts had been destroyed after the author's death and that the rough drafts had been corrupted. But John Keble, editor of the 1836 edition of Hooker's works, proved the authenticity of these books, with certain reservations about the sixth.¹³

(The Library has copies of the first edition of 1594-7; of the 1648 edition of the sixth and eighth books; and the 1666 edition of the whole work. It also has a copy of the original edition of Walton's *Life*, and that of his *Lives*, which includes Hooker's biography. The latter was a presentation copy to Dr. John Fell, the fly-leaf bearing the inscription, "ffor my Lord Bishop of Oxford, Iz. Wa.")

HOOKEER'S work made a deep impression in England as well as abroad. Walton relates that Pope Clement VIII, to whom Dr. Stapleton read the first book in an improvised Latin translation, exclaimed: "There is no learning that this man hath not searcht into; nothing too hard for his understanding: this man indeed deserves the name of an author; his books will get reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."¹⁴

In view of the appreciation shown by the Roman Catholics, it was only natural that the work called forth a virulent attack from the Presbyterian side. In 1599 the author of *A Christian Letter of certaine English Protestants*, assuming the guise of an Anglican, accused Hooker of desiring to justify the Church of Rome and overthrow the Church of England. The pamphlet has been attributed to Thomas Cartwright, then living in Warwick, whom Hooker often disputes, and to Walter Travers, Hooker's old antagonist at the Temple, then provost of Trinity

College in Dublin; but the style is different from theirs.¹⁵ The charges were arranged under twenty-one headings. Characteristic is the one on the subject of transubstantiation. In his Fifth Book Hooker wrote:

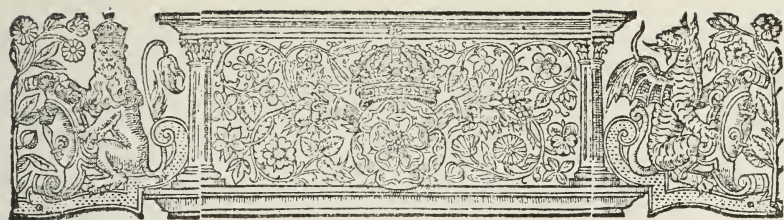
Sith we all agree that by the sacrament Christ doth really and truly in us perform his promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions whether by consubstantiation, or else by transubstantiation the sacrament itself be first possessed with Christ, or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder us howsoever it stand, because our participation of Christ in this sacrament dependeth on the co-operation of his omnipotent power which maketh it his body and blood to us, whether with change or without alteration of the element such as they imagine we need not greatly to care nor inquire.¹⁶

The author of the *Christian Letter* pounced on the passage:

In all which words you seeme to make light of the doctrine of transubstantiation, as a matter not to be stooed vpon or to bee contended for, cared for or enquired into: Which maketh vs to marvell howe our Church and Reverende Fathers haue all this time passed, bene deceaued. What should cause them to affirme it to bee a thing contrarie to the playne wordes of scripture, ouerturning the nature of the Sacrament, to call it monstrous doctrine: why so manie reverend Fathers, as *Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Rogers, Bradford, &c.* haue giuen their liues in witnes against it, if it bee a thinge that neither furthereth nor hindreth, a thing not to bee cared for, nor enquired after?¹⁷

The last section ridiculed the "melodious" style of the *Ecclesiasticall Politie*. "We desire with all instancie," it asked Hooker, "that if you sett foorth your other bookes which are promised, you would bee more playne and sensible; and followe the vsuall language and stile of other learned men and English writers."¹⁸

Hooker was greatly hurt by the criticisms; his copy of the *Christian Letter* contains copious marginal notes, showing that he intended to compose an answer.¹⁹ His death, which was supposedly hastened by the attack, prevented him from preparing the manuscript. It remained for William Covell, a vicar in Kent, to publish in 1603 *A Just and Temperate Defence* of the five books of the *Ecclesiasticall Politie*; unfortunately, the *Defence*, whatever its other qualities, was also very tedious.²⁰ But by then there was new excitement to occupy people's minds.



OF
THE LAVVES
of Ecclesiasticall
Politie.

Eyght Bookes.

By Richard Hooker.



Printed at London by Iohn Windet, dwelling at the signe of the
Crosse keyes neere Powles Wharffe, and are there
to be sould

Title-Page, Greatly Reduced

QUEEN ELIZABETH died on March 24, 1603, and on April 5 James set out from Edinburgh, arriving in the neighborhood of London on May 3. On his way to the capital, he received the Millenary Petition, purporting to represent more than a thousand ministers. Knowing that the King of the Scots had lived all his life as a Presbyterian, the Puritans were optimistic. They may have even remembered James's protestation of happiness to the General Assembly at being the King of "the sincerest Kirk of the World."²¹

Desiring "not a disorderly innovation, but a due and godly Reformation," the petitioners humbly asked the new sovereign that some of their grievances be "removed" and others "amended." In regard to church service, they renewed their objections to the cross in baptism, the administration of baptism by women, the cap and surplice, the ring in marriage, and to such terms as "priests" and "absolution"; they wanted the "longsomeness" of the service abridged, the songs and music moderated to "better edification," and the Apocryphal Scriptures eliminated. They demanded that they "be not urged to subscribe, but, according to the Law, to the Articles of Religion and the King's supremacy only." In matters of discipline, they asked that men be not excommunicated "for trifles and twelve-penny matters," and that the *ex-officio* oath, by which people were forced to accuse themselves, be more sparingly used. They expressed their hope that the King would further hear them, either by writing or by a conference.²²

The Petition elicited a prompt *Answer* from the University of Oxford, in which the University of Cambridge gladly joined.²³ Having first called attention to the fact that the ministers had published their paper which was in itself an act of sedition, the pamphlet tried to refute it paragraph by paragraph. There was only one point which it conceded. "The Marriage of Ministers," the Oxford men wrote, "wee doe not dislike, but maintaine the lawfulness thereof against the Church of Rome." Otherwise, they branded the petitioners "factious and turbulent hypocrites." "The thinge they seeke," they concluded, "is so preiudiciall, both to the Civil state in general, and in particular to so many of the very best of the Ministry, that if it shoulde take

effect . . . it would breed a strange alteration in the One, and in the Other it would make the whole Cleargie very base and contemptible in the eies of our own people."²⁴

The Puritans' plea was reinforced from an unexpected corner. Francis Bacon, "learned counsel" for Queen Elizabeth and member of Parliament for the past twenty years, submitted to the King a paper entitled "Certaine Considerations touching the better pacification and Edification of the Church of England."²⁵ He placed the problem squarely before James, with the logic and lucidity that one would expect from the author of *De Interpretatione Naturae*, which he had just finished, and of the *Advancement of Learning*, on which he was working. Had Bacon's advice been followed, the future course of the English church, and with it English history, might have been different.

Bacon declared himself for toleration and reform. Why should one think, he asked, that the ecclesiastical state was exempt from corruption, considering that the civil state constantly needs to be restored by good laws? The substance of doctrine was immutable; but rites and ceremonies should "be left at large." He thought that the Bishops should not be invested with sole authority, but share their power with a council of elders; and that they should not be permitted to transfer their power to deputies. He, too, regarded the *ex-officio* oath contrary to common law, subscription a thing to be urged for articles of faith but not ceremonies, the terms "priests" and "absolution" improper, the ring unnecessary, and church music used to excess. Extolling Grindal, Bacon approved of prophesizings as "the best way to frame and train up preachers," and recommended that ministers should be placed on probation before ordination. To solve the problem of non-residency and plurality of benefices, he suggested that small parishes should be united and larger ones divided, and that in any case a "computation" of the benefices and the available number of ministers should be made.

Fearful to enter London where the plague was raging with increasing fury, James, hurriedly crowned in Westminster, was wandering from one country-house to another. In October, he issued a proclamation "concerning such as seditiously seek reformation in church matters," appointing a meeting for No-

vember.²⁶ The title did not augur well for the Puritans; yet after affirming his belief that "both the constitution and doctrine" of the church were agreeable to God's word, the King expressed his awareness that "time may have brought in some corruptions which may deserve a review and amendment" — which seemed to echo Bacon's *Considerations*.

Because of the plague, the Conference had to be postponed; it was finally held at Hampton Court on January 14, 16, and 18, 1604. Archbishop Whitgift, eight Bishops, six Deans of the Cathedral Churches, the Dean of the King's Chapel, two Doctors of Divinity, and one Archdeacon were summoned to represent the Established Church; four Puritans were invited: John Rainolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Thomas Sparke, Archdeacon of Stow; John Knewstubs, a former Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge; and Lawrence Chaderton, Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge — men of relatively moderate views, none of whom thought of separation from the Church. The Conference, however, turned out to be something else than a dispute between Bishops and Puritans. In his *The Symme and Substance of the Conference*,²⁷ William Barlow, Dean of Chester, gave a detailed report of what happened.

On the first day, the King discussed matters with the Bishops, while the Puritans were left outside waiting. The Book of Common Prayer was the chief topic. After several Bishops had voiced their opinions, the King asked them to consider whether the word "examination" might not be added to "confirmation," "remission of sins" to "absolution," and whether in the rubric of private baptism the words "curate or lawful minister" might not be inserted.

On the second day, the Puritans were heard in the presence of the Bishops. Rainolds was the spokesman, quoting Saint Jerome who asserted that bishops were not divinely ordained. "No Bishop, no King," James snapped. The Puritans pleaded that subscription should not be exacted, and also wanted to know how an ordinance of the church was to bind them without impeaching their Christian liberty. "I will haue," the King irritably replied, "one doctrine and one discipline, one Religion in substance, and in ceremony." And when the Puritans argued against the sign of the cross in baptism because "it had been

abused in the time of Popery," he lost his temper. Turning to the Bishops, he declaimed:

I will tell you, I haue liued among this sorte of men euer since I was ten yeares old, but I may say of my selfe, as Christ did of himselfe: Though I liued among them, yet since I had ability to judge, I was neuer of them; neither did any thing make me more to condemne, and detest their courses, then that they did so peremptorily disallow of al things, which at all had been vsed in Popery.²⁸

The Puritans' criticisms reminded James of the Scottish Presbytery which, he said, "as well agreeth with a Monarchy, as God and the Deuill." And delivering a long speech on his sufferings at the hands of the Presbyterians in Scotland, he assured the Bishops: "If this be al that they haue to say, I shall make them conforme themselves, or I will harrie them out of the land, or else doe worse."²⁹

On the third day, the Bishops presented to the King the explanatory alterations on which they agreed. James asked them to consider some further matters, such as excommunication for lesser causes, the maintenance of the clergy, and "the planting of a learned & painful Minister in every parish." Then the Puritans were called in and told of the resolutions. Dr. Chaderton begged the King that the wearing of the surplice and the use of the sign of the cross be not enforced in Lancashire; the King, however, refused to make any exception. Finally he instructed the Bishops to set a time for the conformity of all ministers; to confer with them, "and if they would not yeeld, whatsoever they were, to remoue them, after their time expired."³⁰

On March 5, 1604, the proclamation for uniformity appeared. Referring to the Hampton Court Conference as one which raised "great expectation" and produced "small effect," James stated that he and his council found no cause "why any change should have been at all in that which was most impugned, the Book of Common Prayer, neither in the doctrine . . . nor in the forms and rites." Then he went on:

Notwithstanding we thought meet, with consent of the Bishops and other learned men there present, that some small things might rather be explained than changed, not that the same might not very well have been borne with by men who would have made a reasonable construction of them; but for that in a matter concerning the

Service of God we were nice, or rather jealous, that the publicke forme thereof should be free, not onely from blame, but from suspicion, so as neither the common Adversary should have advantage to wrest aught therein contained to other sence than the Church of England intendeth, nor any troublesome or ignorant person of this Church be able to take the least occasion of cavill against it . . .³¹

In the same month the new Prayer Book, with the royal proclamation inserted after the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, was published. Two editions were printed, both by Robert Barker, one dated 1603 and the other 1604.³² (James's first Prayer Book is extremely rare; the Library has only the reprint of 1844. At least sixteen other editions were issued during James's reign; of these, the Library has, in the Benton Collection, copies of the 1605, 1609, and 1622 editions.)

IT has been suggested that during the Conference the King's attitude changed. On the first day, in his discussion with the Bishops, he seems to have inclined toward reform, as Bacon had advised him; on the second day, however, the arguments with the ministers aroused his obstinacy, and he committed himself to the *status quo*.³³ At any rate, the Conference proved a bitter disappointment to the Puritans.

Yet out of these meetings came an achievement which has rendered them forever memorable — the King James Version of the Bible. The ministers had clamored for a new translation for a long time, and Dr. Rainolds urged the matter again. The idea caught the King's fancy and, in spite of the Bishops' opposition, he approved the project. The new translation was to be made "consonant to the originall Greeke and Hebrew and set forth without notes," because some of the latter "enforce a sence further than the texte will beare."³⁴ Under the King's direction, the scheme for the revision was soon drawn up, six companies of divines and other "prodigious students" being formed to do the work. It may be noted that Rainolds and Chaderton were among the principal translators.³⁵

Archbishop Whitgift died on February 29, 1604, and, in the vacancy of the Metropolitan See, Bishop Bancroft presented to Convocation a Book of Canons collected out of the Articles, Injunctions, and Synodical Acts of the reigns of Edward VI

and Elizabeth. These canons — numbering one hundred and forty-one — passed both houses of Convocation, and were confirmed by letters patent of the King. They were published in both Latin and English.³⁶

The first twelve canons deal with the Church of England and its impugnors; 13-30, with the divine service and the administration of the sacraments; 31-76, with the ministers, their ordination, function, and charge; 77-79, with schoolmasters; 80-88, with things pertaining to churches; 89-91, with the church wardens and their assistants; 92-138, with the ecclesiastical courts of the Archbishop's jurisdiction; and finally 139-141, with the authority of the synods.³⁷

The legality of the canons was disputed by the Puritans, who contended that the clergy had no power "to create offences" which should subject anyone to the civil punishment consequent on the sentence of excommunication. In their next session, the Commons, where the Puritans were in the majority, passed a bill declaring that no canon made within the last ten years should be of force to impeach or hurt any person unless it was first confirmed by an act of the legislature. The Bishops, of course, opposed the bill, and Parliament was dissolved before its third reading.³⁸

YEARS before the death of Queen Elizabeth, James, in his anxiety to secure the throne of England, was already negotiating with the Pope, giving assurance of his toleration of the Catholics.³⁹ To Sir Robert Cecil he made it clear that he did not intend any persecution. "I will neuer allowe in my conscience," he wrote, "that the bloode of any man shall be shedde for diuersitie of opinions in religion, but I uolde be sorie that catholikes shoulde so multiplie as thay might be able to practise thaire olde principles upon us."⁴⁰

The situation of the English Catholics was very difficult. The saying of Mass was a treasonable act for a priest, and the recusants could be punished not only with severe fines but also with prison. Under pretence of investigation, constables and pursuivants intruded into the homes of the Catholic gentry. But the Pope, encouraged by a spurious letter, promised James

his support, expressing his hope that, if he himself would not forsake the Protestant faith, he would at least allow his eldest son to be educated as a Catholic. This represented a decided change in James's favor, for somewhat earlier Father Garnet, Provincial of the English Jesuits, had been given instructions to support the Spanish claim — which might have influenced Robert Catesby, Francis Tresham, Thomas Winter, and other leading Catholics in their effort to persuade Philip III to invade England.

The high expectations with which the Catholics looked upon James's accession are reflected in Robert Persons's preface to his *A Treatise of Three Conversions of England*, published soon after the Queen's death.⁴¹ After a warm eulogy on the King's learning, the famous Jesuit predicted that "such a witt, and godly affected a mynd" could not long "bee deteyned with the vanity & inanity of sects & heresies." All zealous Catholics, he wrote, had prayed that James "mighte first be a Catholike, and then our King," but the Almighty was pleased "first to make him our King, and then to leaue us in the hope of the other at his due time."

It was without the participation of the Jesuits — in fact, partly in order to thwart their influence — that William Watson, a secular priest, organized a plot shortly after James had arrived in England, with the intention of forcing him to grant complete freedom to the Catholics. The date for seizing the King (as the Scots were wont to do) was set for June 24; the Government, however, largely through information supplied by the Jesuits, learned of the scheme, and the would-be rebels were hunted down.⁴² The discovery of another conspiracy, organized by Protestants, inclined James to leniency towards the Catholics. Lord Cobham was the leading spirit of the new cabal, which planned to place Arabella Stewart, an English descendant of Henry VII, on the throne. Walter Raleigh, implicated in the charges, was declared guilty, but his sentence was countermanded by the King.⁴³

Having been told that the recall of all seditious priests was being considered, James made the suggestion that the Pope send to England someone with authority to excommunicate recalcitrant Catholics. Clement refused the request, and James's

annoyance was not a little increased when he found that Father Persons was carrying on a correspondence with the Queen, who was secretly a Catholic. There was also a more tangible cause for alarm. Within twelve months a great many priests had entered the country, with the result that the number of conversions rapidly rose. Thus, at the urging of the Privy Council, the King proclaimed the banishment of all Jesuits and priests. Addressing himself directly to the Pope, in a manner both flattering and firm, he wrote:

Although we acknowledge ourselves personally so much behold-ing to the now Bishop of Rome for his kind offices and private tem-poral carriage towards us in many things, as we shall be ever ready to requite the same towards him, as a bishop in state and condition of a secular prince; yet when we consider and observe the course and claim of that see, we have no reason to imagine, that princes of our religion and profession can expect any assurance long to con-tinue, unless it might be assented by mediation of other princes Chris-tian, that some good course might be taken by a general council free and lawfully called, to pluck up those roots of dangers and jealousies . . .⁴⁴

On March 19, 1604, the first Parliament opened, and in a speech James announced his policies. Besides the established religion, he remarked, he found in the country a second religion, that of "the falsely called Catholikes," and the sect of the "Puri-tanes & Nouelists." "I was neuer violent nor vnreasonable in my profession," he stated. "I acknowledge the Roman Church to be our Mother Church, although defiled with some infir-mities and corruptions." He continued: "I could wish from my heart, that it would please God to make me one of the members of such a generall Christian vnion in Religion, as laying wilful-nesse aside on both hands, we might meete in the midst, which is the Center and perfection of all things." He added, however, that clerics who denied the King's supremacy and thought it no sin to plot against his life were "no way sufferable to remaine in this Kingdome."⁴⁵

To give more force to the King's warning, Parliament passed an Act "againste Jesuites Seminarie Preistes Recusants &c," confirming all similar statutes of Elizabeth's reign.⁴⁶ A number of priests were actually shipped across the sea. Yet James was still cherishing his dream of a general European council, which in some way might restore the unity of the church. His message

to the Pope that he would listen to anything that was "lawful and reasonable" gave rise to the most sanguine hopes in Rome. Convinced that the conversion of England was imminent, Clement appointed a committee of twelve cardinals to consider the great event. James, to stop the ensuing rumors circulating all over Europe, was forced to deny that he had any intention of changing his faith. He expressed to the Privy Council his utter detestation of Catholicism, and the anti-Catholic laws were prosecuted with such vigor that in a short time more than five thousand persons were convicted of recusancy.

THE plans for blowing up the Parliament when the King, and possibly his heir, would be present went back to this period, the spring of 1604. They originated with Robert Catesby and his former associates in the Spanish intrigue, who thought that in the ensuing confusion the old religion could be restored. The carrying out of the act was entrusted to Guy Fawkes, an Englishman living in Holland. From an adjoining house the conspirators dug a tunnel to the cellar of Parliament, where they placed some thirty barrels of gunpowder, covered over with iron, coal, and wood. After several postponements, Parliament was called for November 5, 1605. The fate of the Catholic Peers worried some of the plotters; and in order to save Lord Monteagle, a Catholic who had become a courtier of James, Francis Tresham sent a letter warning him not to attend the meeting. Monteagle notified Secretary Cecil, who reported at once to the King. On November 4 the premises of the Parliament were inspected, and the gunpowder discovered. Fawkes, with lantern in hand, was caught in the cellar, and he made a full confession.

Parliament convened, according to schedule. On November 9 James made a speech about the "great and horrible attempt whereof the like was neuer either heard or read." The cruel Plot, he related

was not only for the destruction of my Person, nor of my Wife and posteritie onely, but of the whole Body of the State in generall; wherein should neither haue beene spared, or distinction made of yong nor olde, of great nor of small, of man nor of woman: The whole Nobilitie, the whole Reuerend Clergie, Bishops and most part of the good Preachers, the most part of the Knights and Gentrie;

yea and if that any in this Societie were fauorers of their Profession, they should all haue gone one way: The whole Iudges of the land, with the most of the Lawyers and the whole Clerkes . . .⁴⁷

The King emphasized that he scarcely knew any of the conspirators, whose sole motive was therefore religion. Claiming credit for the discovery, he told Parliament: "When the letter was shewed to me by my Secretary, wherein a general obscure aduertisiment was giuen of some dangerous blow at this time, I did vpon the instant interpret & apprehend some darke phrases therein, contrary to the ordinary Grammer construction of them . . . to be meant by this horrible forme of blowing vs vp all by Powder; And thereupon ordered that search be made."⁴⁸ He asked them, however, not to blame the innocent, either at home or abroad, for although superstition prompted the venture, "yet doeth it not follow that all professing that Romish religion were guilty of the same." Indeed, he said, "many honest men, seduced with some errors of Popery, may yet remaine good and faithfull Subjects." Thereupon he prorogued Parliament, to provide time for the investigation of the Plot.

Meanwhile the conspirators fled to Winter's estate in Warwickshire, where, under the pretence of hunting, a number of their followers had assembled. But at the news of the discovery the group quickly disappeared. Catesby and a few of his men rode to Holbeche, Staffordshire, to solicit further support; it was there that, on the evening of November 8, the King's officers surrounded them. Catesby was killed in the skirmish, and the others were made prisoners. After a public trial, all the leaders were executed.

"The whole story of the plot," Gardiner writes, "as far as it relates to the lay conspirators, rests upon indisputable evidence. But as soon as we approach the question of the complicity of the priests, we find ourselves upon more uncertain ground."⁴⁹ But it was precisely the implication of the priests — or rather, the Jesuits — that was the purpose of the Government.⁵⁰ The arrests of Fathers Gerard, Greenway, and Garnet were ordered, but only Garnet was apprehended. He admitted his knowledge of the Plot, but insisted that he had tried to dissuade the conspirators. Further, he had learned about the plans from Greenway in confession, and thus was prevented from revealing the

secret. But Garnet's open espousal of "the doctrine of equivocation," which justified the use of falsehood by a prisoner when defending himself, heightened the public prejudice against him; charged with treason, he was hanged in May. Several of the Lords who had absented themselves from Parliament on November 5 also fell under suspicion. The Earl of Northumberland was sentenced to forfeit all his offices and pay an enormous fine.⁵¹

In January Parliament passed an Act declaring November 5 a day of thanksgiving.⁵² It ascribed the Plot to the "many malignant and develish Papists Jesuites and Semynarie Priests," and made the anti-Catholic laws even more stringent. The Crown was empowered to refuse the fine of the monthly £20 and seize instead two-thirds of the recusants' lands. No recusant was allowed to appear at Court, remain within ten miles of London, or leave his house for a distance above five miles. Recusants could not become attorneys, physicians, apothecaries, or hold any position in the army or navy. Moreover, all Catholics were required to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the church of the parish where they were residing. "For the first time," Gardiner comments, "a sacramental test was to be introduced into the service of persecution . . . It is impossible to conceive a greater degradation of that rite which the whole Christian Church agrees in venerating."⁵³

MEANWHILE the Puritans were treated with unabated severity. The proclamation about conformity, issued on July 16, 1604, admonished people not to listen "to the troublesome spirits of some persons . . . especially of certain ministers, who under pretended zeal for reformation, are the chief authors of divisions and sects." It announced that ministers who remained disobedient until the last of November were "to dispose of themselves and their families some other waies."⁵⁴

The Puritan leaders were in great agitation. Realizing the value of concerted action, they circulated letters advising their brethren to sign petitions to the King against "the Dumbe & Idoll ministry, non residencie pluralities, offensive ceremonies," and so on. They thought that if the High Commission would try to execute a penalty for not observing the Canons "it wilbe a

verie doubtfull poynt whether they can stretche soe farr as to putt a subiect from his freehold." The ministers were given instructions how to remain in possession: someone, either wife, child, servant or friend, must stay in the church and in the house night and day, so that no one else could be inducted; then "if the Busshopp shall sequester his liuinge, the lawe hath a verie direct remedie to dissolve the sequestration." "If many stand out," they hoped, "it will pittie the Kinges hart to displace soe many godly ministers."⁵⁵

Several petitions were actually submitted to the King. Perhaps the most notable was the one composed by the ministers of the Diocese of Lincoln, an *Abridgement* of which was later published in book form. Their refusal to subscribe these ministers based upon two "exceptions" — the order of the reading of Scriptures and the ceremonies. Each exception was supported by numerous "arguments," and finally there was a list of "Sondry other Exceptions," such as the likeness of the Prayer Book to the Missal, the length of the service, and the incapacity of ministers to preach. The petition was a real compendium of the grievances voiced by the Puritans for a half-century. "Wee doubt not to affirme," the ministers wrote about the ceremonies, "that the greatest number of resident able and godly ministers doe in their Consciences dislike them, and iudg them needles and vnfit. This may appeare by the number of Preachers out of sondry shires which before the beginning of this last Parliament witnessed vnder their own hand writting their desire to petition for the removing of them."⁵⁶ The counties were listed, with figures set opposite each, adding up to 746 preachers.⁵⁷

There were many other Puritan publications which tried to win over the King. Only a few can be mentioned here. William Stoughton, in *An Assertion for true and Christian Church Policie*, argued that "the planting of the Apostolicall gouernment will not draw with it any least alteration, of anie part, of that temporall state of gouernment, nor almost of anie one common statute, or customarie law of the Land, which may not rather bee altered, then reteyned."⁵⁸ The *Certaine Demandes with their grounds, drawn out of holy Writ* was chiefly directed against the 36th Canon, embodying the three Lambeth articles. The Puritans accepted the first article about the King's supremacy, but balked

at the second, which affirmed that the Book of Common Prayer "contained nothing contrary to the word of God," and at the third, according to which all the Thirty-Nine Articles were "agreeable to the word of God." The author plainly told the Bishops: "The Canon law is vtterly voyd within the Realme, and therefore your oath of Canonically obedience is of no force, and all your Canonically admonition not worth a rush."⁵⁹

Bancroft, who in December 1604 became Archbishop of Canterbury, rigorously continued Whitgift's policy of enforcement. According to various estimates, some three hundred ministers were deprived or suspended.⁶⁰ The Puritans vented their anger and despair in a flood of pamphlets. *The Dialogue between an Old Protestant and a New Formalist*, London 1606, wished to clear their good name:

The Puritan is none other in very deede, but what the True and Old Protestant is; and hath bene, there being not one Poynt we hould concerning Subscription & Ceremonies, but the same hath bene held by some Byshop, Martyr, or speciall Man of God, of generall Esteeme amongst vs; And therefore he who desireth to heare D. Fulke speake. *They are called Puritans* (sayth he) *who would haue the Church thoroughly reformed.*⁶¹

Many of the "displanted" or "inhibited" ministers were, the author maintained, "shinnyng lamps and right worthy lights."⁶² One of his most compelling reasons against subscription was that "the Ceremonies haue growne to such a disvse in very many Churches (in some 10 yeares, in some 20, in some 30, in some more) that it would be a very strange thing and therefore also very scandalous to bring them into use againe." And he painted a touching picture of the misery of the ministers:

Being men brought vp in study, they are not fit to be imploied in any other course of life, except teaching children; ther is a canon provided also to stand at that dore to keepe them out. Whereas also some of them hauing some skill in phisike, might happily convert their studies that way; and some others hauing some small stock would be glad to imploy it in some trade and dealing in the world as other subiects doe, that they might not be chargable unto others: order is also taken by the Canon that they may not so doe. As if the makers of the Canons not content to turne these men out of their livings and ministry, had sought after nothings more, then how to turne them, and theirs a begging.⁶³

Certaine Arguments to Perswade and Provoke . . . Parliament, London 1606, was equally calculated to arouse sympathy. It was against reason, it submitted, that whereas a cobbler or tinker could be removed from his home only by a jury of twelve men, the Ministers of Christ could be ejected by a single man, without any jury, and without right of appeal.⁶⁴

There were nearly as many replies from the Episcopal side. In *A Consideration of the Depriued and Silenced Ministers Arguments* Gabriel Powel, chaplain to the Bishop of London, tried to refute the *Certaine Arguments*. The controversy, he thought, was "not concerning the Ministerie of the Gospell, but touching a few pettie accidental circumstances: for which if any man forsake the necessarie function of his Ministerie and calling, he hath the more to answer for."⁶⁵ Accordingly, Powel advised the High Court to deal severely with the "Schismaticall Ministers." Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, who had proved in his *Perpetuall Government of Christs Church*⁶⁶ that Episcopacy was based upon the system of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, was an impressive antagonist. And so were Thomas Hutton, Vicar of St. Kew, William Wilkes, a royal chaplain, and others. The great Lancelot Andrewes, then Bishop of Chichester, only poked fun at the Puritans, but fought bitterly against the Jesuits.⁶⁷

The King himself was unalterably hostile to the Puritans. In *A Premonition to All Monarches*, defending the oath of allegiance against Cardinal Bellarmine, he boasted that he was "euer an enemie to the confused Anarchie of the Puritanes"; that in his *Basilikon Doron* he had spoken "tenne times more bitterly of them nor of the Papists"; and that he had found "greater honestie with the highland and border theeves, then with that sort of people." Hitting in both directions, he ingeniously declared that "Jesuits are nothing but Puritan-papists."⁶⁸

The argument was still about ceremonies, but in reality the controversy had passed from the realm of religion into that of politics. "The bishops," Frere wrote, "leaned on the commission, the commission on the king; and thus the Church entered on a false alliance with untenable royal claims to prerogative and absolute government, while the Puritans allied themselves with parliament and the strong movement that was conspicuous among the gentry towards individual liberty and constitutional government."⁶⁹

T. Prince, Sudbury in England. June. 1. 1713.

Turn forwards 8 Leaf to the Title-Page:



Because the Booke was printed ere
the Prince his Highnesse had altered the names,
I intreate the Reader, peruse this sche-
dule; which will plainly shew
him the correspondence of
the old names to the
new.

The old names.		The new.	The old names.		The new.
1. x Cape Cod		Cape Iames	x Sowocatusk		Ipswitch . 17
2. Cape Cod Harb ^r .		Milford haue	x Bahana		Dartmouth. 18.
3. x Chawum		Barwick			Sandwich . 19.
x 4. x Accomack		Plimouth	x Aucocisco's Mount		Shooters hill. 20.
5. x Sagoquas		Oxford	x Aucocisco		The Base — 21.
6. x Massachusetts Mount		Chouit hill	x Aumouchewagen		Cambridge — 22.
m 7. x Massachusetts River		Charles River	x Kinebeck		Edenborough. 23.
8. x Totant		Farmouth	x Sagadahock		Leeth — 24.
9. A Country not discovered		Bristow	x Pemmaquid		S. Johnstowne. 25.
10. x Naemkeck		Bastable	x Monabigan		Barties Iles — 26.
x 11. x Cape Trabigzanda		Cape Anne	x Segocket		Norwich — 27.
12. x Aggawom		Southampton	x Matinnack		Willowby's Iles. 28.
13. Smiths Iles		Smiths Iles	x Metinnicus		Hoghton's Iles — 29.
14. x Passataquack		Hull	x Mecadacus		Dunbarton — 30.
15. x Accominticus		Boston	x Pennobscot		Aborden — 31.
16. x Sassanowes Mount		Snoden hill	x Nasket		Lowmonds — 32.

Inserted Leaf from John Smith's
A Description of New England, London 1616

Some of the Puritans conformed; others feigned submission; and those who remained "obstinate" realized that emigration was the only course open to them.

SOME twenty-five years later, one of the emigrants — a boy of eighteen when he left his native village in Yorkshire — set down his memories of the events. He lived then thousands of miles away, being the Governor of a Colony on the shores of America. In beginning his history, William Bradford thought it fitting to explain the causes of their enterprise. So he wrote on the top of his first sheet:

Of Plimmoth Plantation

And first of the occasion and Indusments ther unto; the which that I may truly unfould, I must beginne at the very roote and rise of the same. The which I shall endeavor to manefest in a plaine stile; with singuler regard unto the simple trueth in all things, at least as near as my slender Judgmente can attaine the same.

His narrative has indeed all the qualities he aimed for. It is the most revealing testimony by a contemporary — and it is also one of the most beautiful books written in America.⁷⁰

He reviewed first the dissensions among the Reformers, one party laboring to have right worship of God and discipline of Christ and the other striving to have the Episcopal dignity and power retained. The enmity, started during the exile, did not die with Queen Mary; the inveterate hatred against the true professors had continued ever since. All plots and devices had been used to make them seem "dangerous for the common wealth." Thus religion had been disgraced, and ignorance and profaneness had increased.

As in other places of the land, in the North parts many became enlightened by the word of God; and soon their ministers were urged with "the yoak of subscription" and the poor people were "vexed with apparators, and pursuants, and the comisarie courts." They bore many years with patience, until their sufferings further opened their eyes: "how not only these base and beggerly Ceremoneis were unlawfull, but also that the

lordly and tiranous power of the prelates, ought not to be submitted unto . . . And that their offices and calings, courts & canons &c. were Antichristian, being shuch as have no warrante in the word of God." At last they decided to shake off their bondage. They joined themselves into a church estate, forming two distinct bodies, for "they were of sundrie townes and vilages, some in Notinghamshire, some of Lincollinshire, and some of Yorkshire, wher they border nearest togeather."⁷¹

However, they could not long continue in peaceable condition. Bradford gives this final summary of the wrongs which constrained them to leave their country:

They . . . were hunted and persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as flea-bitings in comparison of these which now came upon them. For some were taken and clapt up in prison, others had their houses besett and watcht night and day, and hardly escaped their hands; and the most were faine to flie and leave their howses and habitations, and the means of their livelehood . . . Seeing them selves thus molested, and that ther was no hope of their continuance ther, by a joynte consente they resolved to goe into the Low-Countries, wher they heard was freedome of Religion for all men; and as also how sundrie from London, and other parts of the land had been exiled and persecuted for the same cause, and were gone thither; and lived at Amsterdam, and in other places of the land. So after they had continued together aboute a year, and kept their meetings every Saboth, in one place, or other, exercising the worship of God amongst them selves, notwithstanding all the dilligence and malice of their adverssaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in that condition, they resolved to get over into Holland as they could. Which was in the year 1607 and 1608.⁷²

The story of the Pilgrims' departure for Holland, "and their troubles ther aboute," need not be told here. Since the ports were shut against them, they had to seek "secret means of conveance." A large company tried to get passage at Boston in Lincolnshire, but the master of the ship betrayed them to the sheriffs, and they were carried back to the town and kept there in prison for over a month. In the following spring they engaged the captain of a Dutch ship, to start from a place between Grimsby and Hull. But ill luck pursued them. The men were already on board when the captain, espying a large troop of constables, set sail without waiting for the women and children. There were many other troubles in their "wanderings and travells

both at land, and sea"; but, "notwithstanding all these stormes of oppossicion, they all gat over at length; some at one time, and some at an other, and some in one place, and some in another."

There was already a Separatist English church at Amsterdam, founded in 1593 by the followers of Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry; John Smith and his group from Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, established a second in 1607; and the Pilgrims, from Scrooby and the neighboring villages, formed a third under the pastorate of John Robinson. Soon the first and second churches were quarreling, and the Pilgrims thought it best to remove to Leyden, "a fair and bewtifull citie, and of a sweet situation," made especially famous by its university.⁷³ Although they had only been used to "a plaine countrie life, and the inocente trade of husbandry," they found employment in various industries, and with continual labor made a competent living. Yet after a stay of eleven or twelve years, they decided to leave. They had "sundrie weightie and solid reasons" for their resolution. Some could not endure the hardships and chose prisons in England rather than liberty in Holland. They were also greatly troubled about their children, many of whom had become soldiers and seamen, or had been drawn into extravagant and dangerous courses. Old age was stealing on them and so it was urgent "to dislodge betimes." Last but not least:

a great hope, and inward zeall they had of laying some good foundation . . . for the propagating, and advancing of the gospell of the kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones, unto others for the performing of so great a work.

But where to go?

The place they had thoughts on, was some of those vast, and unpeopled countries of America, which are frutfull, and fitt for habitation; being devoyd of all civill inhabitants; wher ther are only salvage, and brutish men, which range up and downe, litle otherwise then the wild beasts of the same.

The proposition was fraught with many "unconceivable perills and dangers." They knew that they were liable to famine, nakedness, and all kinds of deprivations; that the change of air, diet, and drinking of water would infect their bodies with grievous diseases. And there was the fear of the savages, whose

cruelties were notorious. Yet they also knew that "all great and honourable actions are accompanied with great difficulties; and must be, both enterprised, and overcome with answerable courages." And thus, after weighing both sides of the problem, they concluded for the enterprise.

The next thing was to consider "what particuler place to pitch upon" in America. Some were for Guiana or other fertile regions in hot climates, others for some parts of Virginia, where the English already had a beginning. It was objected that if they lived among the English, or so near to them as to be under their government, "they should be in as great danger to be troubled and persecuted for the cause of religion, as if they lived in England, and it might be worse." On the other hand, if they moved far off, they would not have their help. At length, they determined "to live as a distinct body by them selves, under the generall Government of Virginia, and by their freinds to sue to his majestie that he would be pleased to grant them freedome of Religion."

Again, it would be unnecessary to rehearse here the negotiations with the Virginia Company; the leaving from Holland; the start of the two ships from Southamptton, where others from London and elsewhere joined them; their turning back to Plymouth, from where, "now all being compacte together in one shipe," they set sail; their voyage across the ocean, and their safe arrival at Cape Cod. After some deliberation, they turned southward "to find some place aboute Hudsons river" for their habitation. But after sailing for about a half day, they encountered such dangerous shoals and roaring breakers that they were happy to get into the Cape harbor.

In their exploration of the Cape they were helped by John Smith's *A Description of New England*, of which they undoubtedly had a copy. "Cape Cod," Captain Smith wrote, ". . . is onely a headland of high hils of sand, ouergrowne with shrubbie pines, hurts and such trash; but an excellent harbor for all weathers. This Cape is made by the maine Sea on one side, and a great Bay on the other in forme of a sickle . . ."74 At the corner of the sickle was Accomack, which Captain Smith described in pleasing language: "An excellent good harbor, good land; and no want of anything but industrious people." And so after five weeks,

having sounded the whole coast, the Pilgrims sailed for Accomack, recently christened Plimouth.

The hardships awaiting them were greater than they had imagined in their gloomiest moods. But they were ready to plant the Colony for which, on first sighting land, they had solemnly covenanted and combined themselves into "a civill body politick."

(*A second series of four articles, to be published at a later date, will complete the story.*)

Notes

1. *The Works of Richard Hooker*, edited by John Keble, Oxford 1836, I, 158.
2. *Ibid.*, 158, 182, 186, 210, 222.
3. *Ibid.*, 214, 253, 292.
4. *Ibid.*, 302-3.
5. *Ibid.*, 304-5, 340.
6. *Ibid.*, 420, 421-2, 422, 423.
7. *Ibid.*, 446, 457, 496, 523.
8. *Ibid.*, 549, 618.
9. *STC*, 13712. The work was entered in the Stationers' Register on "29 Januarii" 1593.
10. It has been assumed that all the eight books were completed by 1593. At the Registers' Company, indeed, "eight bookes" were entered at that time, with the remark, "Auctorized by the lord archbishop of Canterbury his grace vnder his hand."
11. *The Works of Richard Hooker*, II, 68, 678.
12. The publication of the last three books is discussed by Raymond A. Houk in the Introduction to his *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Book VIII*, New York 1931.
13. The contents of the last three books, since they were known to at least some of Hooker's contemporaries, may be indicated here:
The sixth book treats of repentance. The use of confessions, the author shows, was allowed by the Fathers; however, there is no need for the auricular and private confessions which are so rigorously upheld by Rome. Public prayers in the Church of England begin with an acknowledgment of our sins, but people do not *have* to make confessions.
The seventh book consists of two parts, the first dealing with the authority and the second with the honor of bishops. In 1589 Bancroft enunciated the apostolic succession of Anglican bishops, thus countering the divine right claims of Presbyterian elders. Hooker based his own arguments upon the idea of the social compact and the sovereignty of the people; the acceptance of Bancroft's theory would have further alienated the Presbyterians. Prelates, he insisted, were needed to enforce the church laws, a duty to which lay-governors

could not attend equally well. But Hooker realized that the real grievance against the bishops was their wealth. He met the problem by suggesting that "in goods and livings of the Church none hath their property but God himself," which meant that from God the bishops "have right, not only to receive, but also to use such goods, the lower sort in smaller, and the higher in larger measure."

The eighth book is a vindication of the royal prerogative regarding church assemblies, nominations of bishops, ecclesiastical courts, and exemption from excommunication. Hooker called this "the power of ecclesiastical dominion." However, he emphasized again and again that supreme power was derived from "the entire multitude"; that "the end whereunto all government was instituted, was *bonum publicum*, the universal or common good."

14. *The Works of Richard Hooker*, I, 90.

15. *Ibid.*, xvii.

16. *Ibid.*, II, 451.

17. *A Christian Letter of certaine English Protestants* [Middleburg, R. Schilders] 1599. (STC, 13721) 34-5.

18. *Ibid.*, 46-7.

19. The volume is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College at Oxford. (*The Works of Richard Hooker*, ix-xix.)

20. STC, 5881; it was reprinted, in sections, in Hanbury's edition of Hooker's *Works*, London 1830, II, 449-568. The Library has a fine copy of the same writer's *Polimantia*, Cambridge 1595, which contains perhaps the earliest printed mention of Shakespeare. Toward the bottom of the verso of R2, opposite the sentence "Oxford, thou maist extoll thy courte-deare-verse . . .," the margin has "Lucretia /Sweet Shak-/speare." The coincidence is worth noting. Shakespeare's name does not occur in the text — it merely happens to be juxtaposed with that of Oxford. The "clue" escaped the attention of the late J. Thomas Looney, who might have added a whole chapter about it to his "*Shakespeare*" Identified in *Edward De Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford*.

21. David Calderwood, *The History of the Church of Scotland*, 1678, 286.

22. Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, London, 1896, 508-511.

23. *The Answer of the Vicechancellour, the Doctors, both the Proctors, and other the Heads of Houses in the Universitie of Oxford*, Oxford 1603, (STC, 19010.) The Library has two copies.

24. *Ibid.*, 28.

25. The treatise (STC, 11118) was published in 1604. Only the first four signatures were printed. The Library's copy is completed in manuscript.

26. Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, Oxford 1839, II, 43-47.

27. STC, 1456. Reprinted by Cardwell, *A History of Conferences*, Oxford 1849, 167-212. The Library's copy has many contemporary marginal notes.

28. *The Symme and Substance of the Conference*, London 1604, 72-3.

29. *Ibid.*, 79, 83.

30. Appended to Dean Barlow's *Symme and Substance* is a Puritan account of the Conference. According to this version, the King granted to the ministers most of their requests, stating many times that "the Bishoppes reasons were popish, and that they might establish Poperie by them." Further, "the Kinges Maiestie used the Bishops with very hard words: but imbraced Maister Doctor Reynolds, and used most kind speeches to him." There are

several other accounts, printed (it seems for the first time) in Roland G. Usher's *The Reconstruction of the English Church*, New York 1910, II, 331-8, 341-54. One of these, especially favorable to the Bishops, exults: "They [the Puritans] had a could pull of yt and are utterly foyled." It calls Dr. Rainolds "the principall mouthe" of the divines, and remarks that Chaderton was "mute as any Fyshe" and Knewstubb was "fierce against the Crosse."

31. Cardwell, *History of Conference*, 226-7.

32. Thomas Lathbury, *A History of the Book of Common Prayer*, Oxford 1858, 132-3, writes that there were two issues of the edition dated 1604. "The tables of contents differ in the number of lines, and the initial letters and ornaments vary considerably . . . Many pages present variations in orthography. In one copy we read 'Act,' in another 'Acte of Uniformity.' Still the variations can only be discovered by a very minute comparison." There is one error which distinguished all copies. In the second rubric the word "all" is omitted, the passage reading "and at other times in his ministration." It was in 1625 that the error was first corrected.

33. James Spedding, *The Life and Times of Francis Bacon*, Boston 1878, I, 433.

34. Account of the Conference printed by Professor Usher, *op. cit.*, II, 345.

35. The Library's collection of English Bibles was described by the present writer in the December 1936 and January 1937 issues of *More Books*; the section about the King James Version is in the second number, pp. 5-9.

36. *Constitutiones sive canones ecclesiastici* . . . , printed by J. Norton in 1604; and *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical* . . . , printed by Robert Barker in 1604. Both texts are reprinted in Cardwell, *Synodalia*, Oxford 1852, I, 164-244, 245-329. The Library has a copy of the 1616 edition.

37. The precedents for the Canons of 1604 are listed by Roland G. Usher, *op. cit.*, II, 273-88.

38. Lingard's *History of England*, VI, 26; W. H. Frere, *The English Church*, London 1904, 310-4.

39. For his efforts to have the Bishop of Vaison raised to the Cardinalate, in order to have some one in Rome to watch over his interests, see Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England*, London 1883, I, 80-82.

40. *Correspondence of King James VI. of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and Others in England*, edited by John Bruce, London 1841, 36.

41. *STC*, 19416. The Library's copy once belonged to the library of Henry B. H. Beaufoy.

42. The fierce quarrel which had been growing between the Jesuits and the seculars ever since the Spanish Armada is discussed by Thomas Graves Law in *Conflicts between Jesuits and Seculars*, London 1889, and *The Archpriest Controversy*, London 1896. The differences were of great importance. "The faction led by the Jesuits," Law writes, "contended for the Spanish succession and the subjection of England to the Pope by force of arms. Their opponents were for the King of Scots whether Catholic or Protestant." The controversy produced nearly a score of tracts, several of which were by Watson. A vain and eccentric man, he used the most violent invectives against the Jesuits.

43. Cobham's conspiracy is often referred to as the "Main Plot" and that of Watson as the "Bye Plot."

44. Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, II, 54-55. The proclamation was issued on February 22, 1604.

45. *The King Maiesties Speech, as was delivered by him . . . on Munday the 19. day of March 1603 [4] . . .*, printed by Robert Barker in 1604. (STC, 14390.) The copy in the Prince Collection has numerous marginal notes.

46. *The Statutes of the Realm*, IV, ii, 1020.

47. *His Maiesties Speach in this last Session of Parliament . . .*, London 1605, B2 verso. (STC, 14393.) In a note written in his copy, Prince quotes Stow's comments upon the King's speech.

48. *Ibid.*, B4 recto.

49. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 269.

50. George Blackwell, who after Cardinal Allen's death was appointed "Archpriest" of England, in a letter addressed to the Catholic clergy and laity condemned the plot as "intolerable, uncharitable, scandalous, and desperate." Reminding his followers that "His Holiness hath prohibited all such attempts against our King," he wrote: "If any notice had been given to me, I should have been most forward, by all possible means, to have stayed and suppressed the same." (Dodd's *Church History of England*, edited by M. A. Tierney, IV, cxii.)

51. In his volume *What Was the Gunpowder Plot?*, London 1897, John Gerard, S. J., declared that, although the real history of the Plot would probably never be known, the traditional account was "obviously untrue." According to the author, the Government knew of the Plot long before it announced its discovery, and afterwards it consistently falsified the story. "There are grave reasons for the conclusion," he wrote, "that the whole transaction was dextrously contrived for the purpose which in fact it opportunely served, by those who alone reaped benefit from it . . ." — meaning Secretary Cecil and his party who wanted to stop the progress of Catholicism and, at the same time, strengthen their own position. (P. 234.) In his reply, *What Gunpowder Plot Was*, Professor Gardiner upheld the traditional story as, on the whole, "untouched" by Father Gerard's criticisms. "The Government theory," he commented, "that Garnet and other Jesuits had originated the plot was undoubtedly false, but as far as we are able to judge, they did not look upon it with extraordinary horror, neither did they take such means as were lawful and possible to avert the disaster." (Pp. 198-9.)

52. *The Statutes of the Realm*, IV, ii, 1667-8.

53. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, I, 287.

54. Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, II, 60-64.

55. The letters are printed in Roland G. Usher, *The Reconstruction of the English Church*, II, 358-65.

56. *An Abridgement of that Booke which the Ministers of the Lincoln Diocess delivered to his Maiestie upon the first of December last*, London 1605, 52.

57. Prince noted on the title-page of his copy: "Page 52 — A List of 746 Preachers who petition for the Removal of the Ceremonies." In discussing the passage, Professor Usher remarks: "This list, which does not seem trustworthy in any connection, has been quoted and used for every conceivable purpose by Puritan writers, invariably without acknowledgement. It certainly cannot refer to the deprivations." (*Op. cit.*, II, 4.) To the present writer, it seems obvious that the list refers to the Millenary Petition.

58. STC, 23318. The Library has two copies.

59. *Op. cit.*, 49.

60. Professor Usher suggests that the figure "is more likely the number

of men who believed themselves to be threatened than the number who were actually proceeded against by the Bishops." (*Op. cit.*, II, 5.)

61. *Op. cit.*, 36. The Prince copy lacks the title-page and first three leaves.

62. Professor Usher thought that "the men deprived and suspended cannot be said to have been the very best of the Puritans." He added that the "bishops were careful not to deprive the prominent, pious, and learned, in order that the list of 'martyrs' might have as few imposing qualities as possible." (*Op. cit.*, II, 13.)

63. *Op. cit.*, 55, 61.

64. *Op. cit.*, 11.

65. *Op. cit.*, 20.

66. The Prince Collection has the 1611 edition, *STC*, 3066.

67. The literature of the period is discussed in some detail by Henry Martyn Dexter in *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, Boston 1905, 335-76.

68. *A Premonition to All Monarches*, in *The Works of King James*, London 1616, 305-06. In the Introduction to his edition of *The Political Works of James I*, Cambridge 1918, Charles Howard McIlwain has brought together a number of passages from the King's writings showing his "inveterate hatred" of the Puritans. (Pp. xc-xci.)

69. *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I*, London 1904, 323.

70. The manuscript of Governor Bradford's history, *Of Plimmoth Plantation*, is preserved in the Massachusetts State Library. It is a folio of 270 leaves, 11½ by 7⅞ inches in size. The writing is on one side of the leaves, with occasional additional matter on the verso sides. The vicissitudes of the manuscript are well known. For three generations it was in the possession of the Bradford family, until in 1728 it was loaned to the Reverend Thomas Prince, who received permission not only to use excerpts from it in his *Annals of New-England* but to "lodge" it in his own library. Accordingly, the volume bears the book-plate of Prince's "New-England-Library." Either Governor Hutchinson, who had used it, or some one of the British Army carried the manuscript to England; for it was in the library of the Bishop of London, to whose diocese America belonged, that the work was discovered in 1855. After several vain attempts to secure it for America, it was finally returned to Boston in 1897.

The book was first printed in 1856; in 1896 a photographic facsimile was published; in 1901 and in 1908 two other editions appeared; and in 1912 the Massachusetts Historical Society issued a definitive edition, in two volumes, with excellent notes by Worthington C. Ford. The quotations in the present article are from this edition (pp. xvii, 16, 18, 22, 25-6, 35, 53, 55, 56, 60, 61, 65, 65-6, 149, 152).

Bradford's style has often been compared to that of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. "What Bradford undoubtedly had in common with Bunyan," John A. Doyle, editor of the facsimile edition, remarked, "was a mind at once vigorous and thoroughly artistic, and so steeped in the English version of the Bible that it instinctively and spontaneously found expression in Biblical words, phrases, and modes of construction." (*Op. cit.*, 15.) The exquisite simplicity of Bradford's style has been praised by everyone; earlier historians of American literature were, however, mistaken in thinking that Bradford was

"devoid of attempts at literary embellishment." As Professor E. F. Bradford has shown in his essay "Conscious Art in Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*," the work is by no means artless. William Bradford's frequent use of alliteration, antithesis, "couplings," and figures of speech, as well as his selection and arrangement of the material are "clear evidence of his possession of certain standards of historiography and of his attempt to meet these standards by a conscious literary art." The writer has also called attention to a reference by Bradford to Lord Berners's "Goulden booke," that is, to the Euphuistic translation of Guevara's *Libro Aurco* entitled *Golden Book of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius*, published more than a dozen times during the sixteenth century. Bradford knew well the difference between "high style" and "plain style," and he achieved the latter by purposeful moderation. (*The New England Quarterly*, 1928, pp. 146, 156, 157.)

71. "The Pilgrim district in England," Edward Arber wrote, "consists of nothing but an open country, dotted over with small villages and townships that, even at the present day, have a very small population." And further: "The Pilgrim Movement . . . was mainly a Nottinghamshire Movement. The West Riding of Yorkshire was not in it; except as Austerfield was the home of Governor W. Bradford . . . Lincolnshire, through the Congregation at Gainsborough, temporarily furthered the Movement during the years 1606-1608; but this was merely an accidental help." (*The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, London 1897, 50, 51.)

72. Roland G. Usher, an admirer of Archbishop Bancroft, maintains that the persecution did not come from Church and State; that it was the orthodox majority at Scrooby and the nearby villages, the friends and relatives of the Separatists, who raised vehement objections to the new Church. "Numerous too they were compared to the new congregation," he writes, "for we can be quite sure that prior to this time there was no trace of Puritanism or Separatism in the district, and that after the migration of the little church the population was orthodox enough." And again: "There is absolutely no evidence in the records, civil or ecclesiastical, that the existence of the Scrooby group was known at Whitehall or at Lambeth, before the attempt to flee in 1607 led to the report by the Magistrates of Boston to the Privy Council. Nor was importance attached to their existence then." (*The Pilgrims and their History*, New York 1918, 17, 18.)

73. A detailed account of the British churches at Amsterdam and Leyden, including the publications of their leaders, is given by Dexter in *Congregationalism*, New York 1880, 225-410. Both Arber and Usher have added considerable new material to Dexter's fundamental work.

74. *STC*, 22788. The copy in the Prince Collection contains also the extremely rare inserted leaf which has, in two columns, both the old Indian names and the new English ones chosen by young Prince Charles. (Justin Winsor, editor, *The Memorial History of Boston*, I, 52.) That the copy owned by the Pilgrims also included the inserted leaf is obvious from Bradford's remark: "A word or too by the way of this cape; it was thus first named by Captain Gosnole and his company, Anno: 1602, and after by Capten Smith was caled Cape James; but it retains the former name amongst sea-men." (*Op. cit.*, 153-4.) In his narrative John Smith used the name "Cape Cod" at least seven or eight times, but nowhere did he speak of "Cape James"; the latter occurs only on the inserted leaf.

The Palace of Pleasure

By ELAINE KIMMELMAN

THE *Palace of Pleasure*, a collection of tales translated by William Painter from Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish sources, was one of the most significant books of the Elizabethan age. It made available in English for the first time the *novelle* of the great Renaissance story-tellers — Boccaccio, Bandello, Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, Giraldi Cinthio, Margaret of Navarre, and others. Widely read, copied, and imitated, the work gave impetus to a host of attempts by native authors. But it played an especially important part in the development of the drama. It was a mine to which playwrights went for plots, characters, and settings — more than forty Elizabethan plays are based on the stories. With North's *Plutarch* and Holinshed's *Chronicles*, it served as the main source for the dramas of Shakespeare. It is a pleasure, therefore, to announce here that the Boston Public Library, which owns one of the great collections of Elizabethan literature, has acquired a first edition of the work.¹

The first volume of *The Palace of Pleasure* was printed in 1566 by Henry Denham, for Richard Tottell and William Jones; and the second in 1567 by Henry Bynneman, for Nicholas England. No perfect copies are known to exist; the title-pages of the Library's copies, and the last leaf of the first volume and leaf IV of the second volume are facsimiles. Otherwise the books, with their wide margins, are in splendid condition. They were handsomely bound in red morocco, with gold-tooled flowers in the corners, by Francis Bedford. The work was at one time in the possession of Lord Aldenham who, then still Henry H. Gibbs, bought them in 1888 at the Ellis Sale, as his notes on the fly-leaves testify.

The first volume, the title of which reads *The Palace of Pleasure Beautified, adorned and well furnished, with pleasaunt Histories and excellent Nouelles selected out of diuers good and commendable Authors*, comprises 303 leaves. (The pagination is incorrect, continuing after fol. 145 with 135, and then with 201, ending with 345.) It was dedicated to Ambrose, the Earl of Warwick

(fourth son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland), General of the Royal Ordinance and Armory, of which Painter was a clerk. The title-page bears the Earl's crest — a bear and a ragged staff encircled by the motto "Honi soit qvi mal y pense"; while the verso of the page is occupied by his coat-of-arms supported by two lions. The title of the second volume is: *The second Tome of the Palace of Pleasure, conteyning store of goodly Histories, Tragicall matters, and other Morall argument, very requisite for delighte and profit*. It has 458 leaves. The dedicatory epistle was addressed to Warwick's successor, Sir George Howard, "Master of the Queenes Maiesties Armarie." The border on the title-page is especially ornate. The only other woodcut is the publisher's device on the last page: a woman holding the bridles of two spirited horses.² Both volumes were printed with a fine Gothic type, while the titles and prefatory matter are in Roman. Each story begins with a decorated initial; those in the second volume are particularly attractive.

Like many other Elizabethans, Painter combined worldly pursuits with a devotion to literature. He was born in Kent, somewhere between 1525 and 1540. Having matriculated as a sizar in St. John's College, Cambridge, he left the University without taking a degree, to serve for a brief period as headmaster at Sevenoaks. It was in 1561 that he assumed the clerkship of the Ordinance, a post he kept until his death in 1594. He loved money; by both fair means and foul he managed to acquire a large fortune, including two manors in Kent. At the same time, he read widely in both classical and modern writers. In his dedication to Howard he speaks of his joy in books: "When Labour resteth him selfe in me, and Leisure refresheth other affaires, nothing delights more that vacant time, than reading of Histories in such vulgar speche, wherein my small knowledge taketh repast."

Painter's first literary venture was, in 1558, the translation of a Latin narrative by Nicolas de Moffan, the French historian, describing Sultan Solymán's murder of his son. Two years later he translated William Fulke's *Antiprogностicon*, a Latin tract against astrologers. The Stationer's Register for 1562 shows that a license was obtained by William Jones "for pryntinge of a boke intituled *The Cytie of Cyvelite*, translated into engleshe

by William Paynter"³; but no work of such title ever appeared. Perhaps this was the translation of stories from Livy which, Painter relates to the Earl of Warwick, he at one time contemplated making. However, as he goes on to explain, wider reading prompted him to issue a collection which would include more recent "wel approued" authors as well.

The Palace of Pleasure was an immediate success; as Painter put it in his preface to the second volume, the "gentle acceptance" of his first book induced him to publish "a second Tome." The first volume was reprinted in 1569; and the whole work, with seven additional stories, was re-issued in 1575. Joseph Haslewood's edition of 1813, and those by Joseph Jacobs in 1890 and by Hamish Miles in 1929 are based on that of 1575.⁴ There is no modern reprint of the first edition, although it differs from the second in phraseology, vocabulary, and spelling. In the second edition Painter altered some words to their Latin equivalents, attempting perhaps to give a more scholarly tone to his work. "Belong" thus became "appertayneth," "fair" "amiable," "said" "declared," and so on. The author often tried to render his version more accurate by inserting explanations. "Swet smel" in one place is substituted for "smel"; the phrase "restored all the countrie again" is amplified by "to their ancient liberties"; and "with that little I haue" is changed to "with that little portyon I haue." On the other hand, many expressions are omitted, to obtain more easily scanned sentences. The changes in spelling, which have no pattern at all, reflect the uncertain state of Elizabethan orthography.

THE contents of *The Palace of Pleasure* are very diversified, in regard to both source and type of material. Of the sixty stories in Volume I, the first twenty-eight are classical. All but two of these Painter translated from ancient authors — two from Herodotus, one from Xenophon, three from Aelian, twelve from Aulus Gellius, six from Livy, and two from Quintus Curtius. He probably used Latin versions of the Greek authors. Two stories, for which Painter names Plutarch as his source, were actually translated from versions by Matteo Bandello and Pedro Mexia.⁵ The other thirty-two stories — the most inter-

esting portion of the volume — Painter drew from Italian and French writers: ten from Boccaccio, seven from Bandello (through the French translation by François de Belleforest and Boaistuau de Launay), two from Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, one from Straparola, one from Masuccio, one from an unknown source, and ten from Queen Margaret of Navarre.⁶

In compiling the first collection of prose stories ever published in England, Painter was naturally uncertain about the standards of selection. The first volume, especially, is experimental. Some of the tales are merely humorous anecdotes or clever dialogues, resembling those of the popular jest-books of the time⁷; indeed three of them had already appeared in the famous *Mery Tales, Wittie Questions and Quicke Answers*, published about 1535 — namely, the “pleasaunt and mery lie” told by Papyrus Pratextus to his mother to keep her from prying into Senate affairs; “a merye ieste uttered by Haniball to king Antiochus”; and the subtle controversy of a school-master and his scholar about a contract between them. Several stories are “philosophical” dialogues, as for example Solon’s reasoning with King Croesus on mortal happiness, and the oration of the Scythian ambassadors to Alexander the Great, reproaching him for his ambitions. Historical interest predominates in stories like those of the wars between the Romans and Albans, of Coriolanus, and the Roman consul Fabritius. There are tales which are tragic in the classic manner, centering around the theme of honor: Lucrece, raped by Tarquin, commits suicide; Virginius murders his daughter rather than let her be ravished by Appius, one of the Roman *decemviri*; Lady Panthea, on learning that her husband has been slain, reacts in the manner proper for a Roman lady:

. . . *Panthea* commaunded her Eunuches to goe out of the place, till she had satisfied her self with teares, and lamentacions for her housebande. For she prepared to kill her self, requiryng her Nurse to tarie by her, commaundyng her, that when she was deade, she should shroude her and her husbande, in one garment . . . *Panthea* with a sworde, which she had prepared a long tyme for that purpose, killed her self, and laying her heade upon her husbandes breaste, she yelded from her chaste bodie, her innocente ghoste . . . The *Eunuches* seyng their maistres dead, they likewise drewe out their swordes, and killed themselues in the place, where they were commaunded to stand.⁸

The Palace of Pleasure
Beautified, adorned and
well furnished, with Plea-
saunt Histories and excellent
Nouvelles selected out of
diuers good and commen-
dable Authoꝝs.

¶ By William Painter Clarke of the
Ordinaunce and Armarie.



PRINTED AT
London, by Henry Denham,
for Richard Tottell and William Iones.

The stories from Italian and French sources present new subjects — courtly love, intrigue, horror, melodrama. There are gay tales of polite disputes between gentlemen and ladies of the court; of the mutual deceit of the King and Queen of Naples and a noble couple; of the sly revenge of a scholar on three fair gentlewomen who mocked him. There are sentimental tales of constancy and death because of unrequited love; tragic tales of murder for jealousy or vengeance; and romantic tales of the last-minute rescue of falsely accused ladies by their champions, such as that of Don John di Mendoza, who, armed in black, combats for the Duchess of Savoy with the treacherous Earl of Pancolier. In vigorous battle he throws him from his horse:

... with the pomel of his sword he did so swetely bumbast him, that he made his helmet to flie of his head. And setting his fote upon his throte, made as though with the point of his sword he wold haue killed him, saying. Counte, the houre is now come that thou must go make an accompt with God of thine vntrouth and treason which thou hast committed against the Duchesse. Ah sir knight (quod the Earle) haue pitie vpon me, and kill me not . . .⁹

The most gruesome stories are the account of Tancred, who caused his daughter's suitor to be slain and his heart sent her in a cup, and that of a husband's punishment of his faithless wife by forcing her to drink from the skull of her lover.

The reception of the book must have given Painter a more precise estimate of the public taste. The stories of the second volume are again varied, but the proportion of the mixture differs from that of the first. Of the thirty-four stories, fifteen are classical, with only four from sober ancient authors, and the other eleven from the warmer, more dramatic versions of Bandello, Mexia, Guevara, and Giraldi Cinthio.¹⁰ Thirteen of the remaining stories derive from Bandello and six from Boccaccio. Anecdotes of love and terror are preferred to those of historical and philosophical interest. They tell of such matters as the passion of the Empress Faustina for a gladiator; the unrestrained lusts of the Countess of Celant; the unsuccessful wooing of the chaste Lady of Bohemia by two Barons; the trials of the love of Don Diego for the fair Ginevra; and the worshipful devotion of "a Gentleman of meane calling and reputation" for Anne,

Queen of Hungary, which she "very royally" requited by making him her ambassador to Spain, and arranging:

... when he was gone out of the chamber, he met with the Queenes coferer, that attended for him, who taking him aside, did put into his hand a purse with 500. crownes, and the master of the horse presented vnto him a very goodly and beautifull horsse, wherwith master Philippo was so well pleased, as he was like to leape out of his skin for ioy.¹¹

Perhaps the most gripping story is that of the secret marriage of the Duchess of Malfi to Antonio Bologna, the major-domo of her court. Her brothers, on learning about it, have her put in prison where "two Ruffians did put a corde about hir neck, and strangled hir"; then they hired an assassin who ambushed Antonio and killed him. In his 1575 edition Painter added six stories of courtly love from Queen Margaret's *Heptameron*.¹²

Despite the erotic, shocking, or merely merry character of his "histories" (the word applied to any type of prose story), Painter insists that his purpose in telling them is moral. In his Epistle to the Earl of Warwick he describes his tales as ones which "may render good example for all sortes to follow the best, and imbrace the vertuous, contrariwise to reiect the worste, and contempne the vicious." In addition to a summary of the plots, he presents synopses of the wisdom to be gained from them. Thus the story of the Duchess of Malfi shows "what matche of mariage Ladies of renowne, and Dames of Princely houses ought to choose"; the cases of the Empress Faustina and the Countess of Celant demonstrate "what blossoms blome of whorish life and what fruites therof be culled"; and the noble action of Queen Anne of Hungary illustrates "with what industrie Gentlewomen of priuie chaumbre ought to preferre the sutes of the valiant, and of such as haue well serued the Common welth." The book, Painter admits, is intended to be entertaining; however, it is only secondarily a Palace of Pleasure. First of all, it is "a very Court & Palace for all sorts to fixe their eies therein, to view the deuoures of the Noblest, the vertues of the gentlest, and the dueties of the meanest."¹³

THE vogue of Italian manners and literature, which had begun in the fifteenth century with commercial intercourse be-

tween the two countries, reached its zenith during the reign of Elizabeth. Courtiers and writers learned Italian; many travelled to Italy, returning with new ideas. After *The Palace of Pleasure*, there followed a flood of translations and imitations of Italian prose fiction, and of French and Spanish stories largely derived from the Italian. In her excellent study *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, Mary A. Scott describes seventy-one of such translations.¹⁴

One of the most important of these was Geoffrey Fenton's *Certaine Tragicall Discourses written oute of French and Latin*, 1567, consisting of thirteen well-told stories translated from the Boaistuau-Belleforest version of Bandello, *Histoires Tragiques*.¹⁵ Another well-known collection was made in 1576 by George Pettie, who, obviously trying to capitalize on Painter's popularity, entitled his volume *A Petite Palace of Pettie his Pleasure*. The volume contains twelve "pretie Histories," all classical.¹⁶ A third notable anthology is the *Admirable and Memorable Histories*, 1607, translated by Edward Grimeston from the French of Simon Goulart.¹⁷ Many of the stories were told over and over by different authors. At least six collections, including Thomas Fortescue's *The Forest*, 1571, and George Whetstone's *Heptameron*, 1582, give new versions of tales already made known by Painter.

In addition to books of short tales, many longer "histories" concerning a single hero began to appear. One of the most outstanding among these was *Diana* by George Montemayor, translated from the Spanish by Bartholemew Young.¹⁸ Others were *The Arcadian Princesse*, "faithfully rendered to the originall Italian copy" by Richard Brathwait¹⁹; *Palmerin of England*, translated from French by Anthony Munday²⁰; and *Unhappy Prosperitye*, translated by Sir Thomas Hawkins from a French version of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum et Feminarum Illustrium*.²¹

The liking for foreign fiction became so great that some writers sought to gain acceptance for stories of their own by pretending that they were translations. George Gascoigne, for example, attributed his "The Adventures passed by Master F.J.," published in *A Hundreth sundrie Flowres bounde up in one small Poesie*, 1572, to a non-existent Italian, "Bartello"; and

George Whetstone, too, claimed that his "Discourse of Rinaldo and Giletta," included in *The Rocke of Regard* of 1576, was translated from an Italian author.

There were many poetic versions of the *novelle*. The best known, and ranking with the works of Painter and Fenton in its influence, was George Turberville's *Tragicall Tales . . . translated in time of his troubles*, 1575. It comprises nine versified stories from Boccaccio and Bandello, and one from an unknown source.²² Three other metrical romances derived from Painter's translations of Bandello — *The Historie of John Lorde Mandosze*, 1565, by Thomas de la Peend; *The Crueltie of a Widow*, 1570, by John Goubourne; and *Violenta and Didaco*, 1576, by Thomas Achelley. Shakespeare based *The Rape of Lucrece* on a story Painter took from Livy.

IN providing the playwrights with inexhaustible material, *The Palace of Pleasure* and other anthologies gave a new direction to the incipient Elizabethan drama. Classical models, such as those followed by Norton and Sackville in *Gorboduc*, were superseded by the *novelle* with their sensational elements. One-third of the extant dramas of the period are Italianate. "The romantic drama without Italian story," Miss Scott writes, "would be a real case of *Hamlet* with the part of Hamlet left out."²³ Her book includes a list of the numerous plays and masques derived from Painter. The Library's Barton Collection, so rich in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, naturally has many of these plays. Only a few will be mentioned here:

Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*,²⁴ based on a story from Bandello and a poem by Arthur Broke; *Coriolanus* and *Timon of Athens* from the classical tales, and *All's Well That Ends Well*²⁵ from Boccaccio's "Giletta of Narbona"; Sir William Davenant's *Albovine, King of the Lombards*,²⁶ based on the story of the punished wife; John Marston's *The Insatiate Countesse*,²⁷ for which he turned to the story of "The Countesse of Celant"; *The Dumble Knight*²⁸ by Gervase Markham and Lewis Machin, taken from Bandello's "The Lorde of Virle"; Philip Massinger's *The Picture*,²⁹ the plot of which was borrowed from "A Lady of Boeme"; John Webster's *Duchesse of Malfy*³⁰; James Shirley's

Loves Crueltie,³¹ the story of which was supplied by "The President of Grenoble"; and *The Widdow*³² by Ben Jonson, John Fletcher, and Thomas Middleton, who relied on the tale of "Rinaldo of Este."

The enormous popularity of Italian modes of life and literature which Painter helped to engender alarmed many patriotic and moralistic Englishmen. In his *The Scholemaster*, published in 1567, Roger Ascham attacked Italian influences. Undoubtedly he referred to *The Palace of Pleasure* when he denounced

fonde bookes, of late translated out of Italian into Englishe, solde in euery shop in London, comended by honest titles the sooner to corrupt honest maners, dedicated ouer boldlie to vertuous and honorable personages, the easielier to begile simple and innocent wittes . . . Ten Morte Arthures do not the tenth part so much harme, as one of these bookes, made in Italie, and translated in England. They open, not fond and common wayes to vice, but such subtle, cunnyng, new, and diuerse shiftes, to cary yong willes to vanitie, and yong wittes to mischiefe, to teache olde bawdes new schole pointes, as the simple head of an Englishe man is not hable to inuent, nor neuer was heard of in England before, yea, when Papistrie ouerflowed all.³³

Twelve years later, Stephen Gosson began in his *The Schoole of Abuse* the Puritan attacks against the theaters, singling out especially the foreign infiltration:

Wee have robbed Greece of gluttony, Italy of wantonnes, Spayne of pride, France of deceite, and Duchland of quaffing. Compare London to Rome and England to Italy, you shall find the theaters of the one, the abuses of the other, to be rife among us.³⁴

The chief spokesman in support of the theater was Thomas Lodge. In his *A Defense of Poetry, Musick and Stage-Plays*, 1579, he answered Gosson, maintaining that the purpose of poetry and drama is "in the way of pleasure to draw men to wisdom." Gosson continued the feud in *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*, 1580. In this book, he expressly mentioned *The Palace of Pleasure* among the "bawdie comedies" that had been "ransacked" to supply the plots of plays. As time went on, the controversy became more and more bitter. It culminated in William Prynne's huge *Histrio-mastix*, a book of over a thousand pages, in which, according to the title-page, "it is evidenced that popular Stage-plays are sinfull, heathenish, lewde, ungodly Spectacles, and

most pernicious Corruptions.”³⁵ In establishing their Commonwealth, the Puritans did not lose much time in closing the theaters.

Like many who begin a trend, Painter himself was not as talented as those who followed him. His translations are literal and plodding, without the creative force of such Elizabethan versions as Thomas Hoby's *The Courtier* or John Florio's *The Essayes of Montaigne*. He made few changes in his original texts, beyond omitting some passages and inserting short moral interpretations. It was not for his art that Painter has gained recognition, but for his share in opening up a new horizon to English literature. Moreover, his discerning choice produced a group of tales which are still able, as he hoped they would be, to “recreate, and refresh weried mindes, defatigated eyther with painefull trauaile, or with continuall care . . . to shorten the tedious toile of wearie waies.”³⁶

The Palace of Pleasure has been placed on view in the Treasure Room. It is the center of an exhibition of some fifty volumes — all first or other rare editions of books from which the work was derived, and of plays which are based upon it.

Notes

1. The first edition of Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's *Vitae Parallelae*, made from the French of James Amyot under the title *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes*, was published in 1579 by Thomas Vautroullier and John Wright. The Library has a beautiful copy. Five more editions appeared till the middle of the seventeenth century — in 1595, 1603, 1612, 1631, and 1657. The Library's copy of the third edition bears the signature of Richard Hawkins (1562?–1622) sea-captain and voyager, son of Sir John Hawkins. The Library also has copies of the fourth and fifth editions.

The Barton Collection of the Library has a first-edition copy of Holinshed's *The Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande*, printed in 1577, and also a copy of the second edition of 1587.

2. Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland*, 1485–1640, London 1913, 50, no. 138.

3. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, 1554–1640, edited by Edward Arber, London 1875, I, 204.

4. Joseph Haslewood, editor, *The Palace of Pleasure*, London 1813, I, 11–16.

5. Douglas Bush in “The Classical Tales in Painter's Palace of Pleasure,” published in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1924, 331–341, analyzes Painter's use of ancient sources, correcting errors made by Jacobs in assigning sources.

6 The Library has rare editions of many of the works from which Painter took his stories — a first-edition copy of *Le Nouvelle del Bandello*, Lucca 1554 (three volumes); a 1573 edition of Boccaccio's *Il Decameron*, printed at Florence, the 1608 Venice edition of *Le Tredici Piacevolissime Notti* of Straparola; a copy of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino's *Il Pecorone* with the date 1554 on the title-page, but actually published in 1740. It also has a copy of Masuccio's *Cinquanta Novelle*, published at Venice in 1635.

7. Bush, *op. cit.*, 337.

8. I, fol. 33 (verso).

9. I, fol. 252.

10. The Ticknor Collection has the extremely rare edition of Pedro Mexia's *Silva de varia lecion*, published by Cromberger in Seville in 1543. It also has the 1593 edition published at Antwerp and the 1669 Madrid edition, the latter bearing the bookplate of Robert Southey. The fifth and sixth parts of this edition, according to Ticknor's pencilled note, were first added in the edition of 1554, and are probably not by Mexia. In his copy of the Lyons 1592 edition of the French translation, *Les Diverses Lecons de Pierre Messie* by Claude Gruget, Ticknor wrote: "It is not a complete translation of all the articles in the Silva of Mexia, as at last published, but the early editions contain much less than the later ones, and this, I suppose, was taken from one of the earlier but certainly not from the first." Also in the Ticknor Collection is the rare first edition of Antonio de Guevara's *Epistolas Familiares*, published at Valladolid in 1542. The second edition of Edward Hellowes's translation, *The Familiar Epistles*, London 1577; the *Golden Epistles*, translated from Guevara and other authors by Geoffry Fenton, London 1577; and the *Hecatommithi* by Giraldi Cinthio, printed in two volumes at Monte Regale in 1565, are other rare items in the Library.

11. II, fol. 153 (verso).

12. Queen Margaret, influenced by Boccaccio's work, intended her collection to be a "Decameron" or ten days' entertainment, but she lived to complete only seven decades and two tales of the eighth. Her *Histoire des Amans fortunez* first appeared in 1558.

Another work of Queen Margaret's was known in England before Painter's stories from the *Heptameron* appeared. The Library has a copy of the first edition of *A Godly Medytacyon of the Christen Sowle*, "aptely translated into Englysh by the right vertuous doughter to our late souerayne Kynge Henri the. viii," and "Imprinted in the yeare of our lorde 1548, in Apryll." A woodcut on the title-page (repeated above the colophon) shows Princess Elizabeth kneeling and receiving Christ's blessing. She was then in her fourteenth year.

13. II, The Preface to the Reader.

14. "All Elizabethan books are rare, only to be found in the British Museum or at Bodley's, or in unique private collections like the Ellesmere," Miss Scott, Professor of English at Smith College, writes. Curiously, she was unaware of the resources nearer home — at the Boston Public Library.

15. The Barton Collection has a splendid copy of the book, published by Thomas Marshe, and dedicated to Lady Mary Sydney. George Turberville, in his prefatory lines, praises the translator of this "passing pleasant booke" because:

*Nowe men of meanest skill what Bandel wrought maye vew,
And tell the tale in Englishe well that erst they neuer knewe.*

16. A sixth edition, published in 1608 by George Eld, is in the Barton Collection. (Scott, 29-31.)

17. The Barton Collection has a copy of the first edition, printed by George Eld. The book once belonged to William Carew Hazlitt, the Shakespearian scholar and editor. A note by him on the fly-leaf states: "Only one vol. of Grimestone's translation was published. It is of the rarest occurrence." (Scott, 83-84.)

18. The Ticknor Collection has a first-edition copy of this work, printed by Edmund Bollifant in 1598; it contains the second part by Alonso Perez, and also a continuation entitled *Enamoured Diana*, both translated by Young. (Scott, 73-4.)

Also in the Ticknor Collection is a copy of the original Spanish edition of *Diana*, printed at Valencia. It bears the date of 1542 — evidently a false date, written by hand. The collection has a 1568 edition, too, with the second part by Perez; and the editions of 1575 and 1614.

19. The Library has a copy of the first edition, printed by Thomas Harper in 1635. (Scott, 104-5.)

20. The first edition appeared in 1596. The copy in the Library, printed in London in 1639, is a fourth edition. Miss Scott makes no mention of the work, although she does cite Munday's *Palmerin d'Oliva*, to which *Palmerin of England* is probably a sequel. The Ticknor Collection has a Portuguese version, the *Cronica de Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, in three volumes, printed at Lisbon in 1786. The author's name is given as Francisco de Moraes; Ticknor, however, informs us that the work was originally written in Spanish by Luis Hurtado in 1547. Robert Southey's translation was published in 1807.

21. The Library has a copy of the second edition of 1639. (Scott, 99.)

22. The Library has a copy of the second edition, printed in London in 1587. (Scott, 234.)

23. *Op. cit.*, xlix.

24. An undated quarto, probably of 1609, and also the quarto of 1637. (STC, 22325 and 22326.)

25. All three appeared in the First Folio of 1623 for the first time.

26. First and only edition of 1629.

27. Third edition of 1631. (The first edition appeared in 1613.)

28. Second edition of 1633. (The first edition appeared in 1608.)

29. First edition of 1630.

30. Second edition of 1640. (The first edition appeared in 1623.)

31. First edition of 1640.

32. First edition of 1652.

33. Fols. 26-7, edition of 1571.

34. London 1841, 24.

35. The Barton Collection has a copy of the only edition of London 1633. According to the interminable sentence on the title-page, the author consulted the authority of "sundry texts of Scripture; of 55 Synods and Councils; of 7 Fathers and Christian Writers . . . of above 150 foraigne and domestique Protestant and Popish Authors, since; of 40 Heathen Philosophers, Historians, Poets" and many others to show that stage plays are "condemned in all ages, as intolerable Mischiefes to Churches, Republickes, to the manners, mindes and soules of men . . ."

36. I. The Preface to the Reader.

Margaret Fuller Centenary

By MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

A HUNDRED years ago — on July 19, 1850 — the bark *Elizabeth*, struggling against a hurricane as she headed toward Long Island, struck the beach of Fire Island and was wrecked, giving up to the sea the lives of Margaret Fuller, her husband the Marchese d'Ossoli, and their little son Angelo. They had sailed, not without misgivings, from Italy to her home, where she hoped to support her family with her writing. It is fitting to commemorate the death of this great woman who was a pioneer, ardent for the future, and at the same time a product of her time and environment.

The Boston Public Library owns some three hundred manuscripts, including eighty-nine letters by or concerned with Margaret Fuller, poems, extracts from her journals, and other papers. Thirty-four of the letters and twenty-seven of the poems are in her handwriting, others are copies. The bulk of these manuscripts served as source material for two early biographies. The first was the two-volume *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli* by Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Henry Channing, and John Freeman Clarke, published in 1881. Channing was her cousin and intimate correspondent over a long period, and many of her most characteristic letters were addressed to him. It was he who sent the larger part of the manuscripts now in the Library to Thomas Wentworth Higginson to use for his more condensed, but warmly sympathetic biography *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, issued in 1885. "For several, if not all of these," Channing wrote, "you will be able to find room, let us trust, in your Biography. For we owe it to our honored Friend, to allow her thus to portray herself."

The collection came to the Library in 1904 as a gift from Mr. Higginson and his niece Mrs. Thacher Loring. Although much of the material has been used in the two earliest biographies, in many cases the letters and papers have not been quoted in full. Indeed, a number of letters are disfigured by the crossing out of whole passages and, still more, by the heavy deletion of

some lines. Subsequent biographers have, of course, drawn from this store.¹ Nevertheless, there remain letters and reflections by Margaret Fuller which, as far as can be ascertained, have not been published. While material from her youth is scanty, her years in Italy are well illuminated by the documents in this collection. In 1904 the Library acquired also her autograph letters, fifty in all, written to James Nathan during the time she worked in New York.

Margaret Fuller's life was short, but it was lived intensely. A pioneer of the woman's rights movement, she braved hostility and ridicule. But woman's rights were with her never an exclusive interest. Her writings, apart from her translations from the German, have been gathered in four volumes, which are now probably little read; yet by her fearless criticism, by her saturation with the literature of the "storm and stress" period, she exerted a strong influence on the literary life of contemporary New England. "I, who knew her intimately for ten years," Emerson wrote, "never saw her without surprise at her new powers."² Horace Greeley pronounced her "the most capable and noteworthy American woman the world has yet known."³ Mazzini was her friend, the Brownings and Carlyle valued her. Walter Savage Landor lamented her death: "Rest, glorious soul — Renowned for strength of genius, Margaret!"

SARAH MARGARET FULLER was born at Cambridge Port, Massachusetts, on May 23, 1810. She has left an introductory chapter of "an autobiographical romance," which has been printed in the *Memoirs*.⁴ There she describes her father, Timothy Fuller, a lawyer and a politician, as "a character, in its social aspect, of quite the common sort," adding that "in the more delicate and individual relations, he never approached but two mortals, my mother and myself." As she was the eldest child, her father gave her the kind of education then customary only for boys. "I was taught Latin and English grammar at the same time, and began to read Latin at six years old, after which, for some years, I read it daily," she remembered. At an early age she became acquainted with Cervantes, Molière, and of course Shakespeare. "There was, in the house," she wrote, "no apart-

ment appropriated to the purpose of a library, but there was in my father's room a large closet filled with books, and to these I had free access when the task-work of the day was done."⁵

The Cambridge house was ugly, but behind it lay a little garden where she spent the happiest hours of her childhood. At fourteen, she was sent to the Misses Prescott's school in Groton. Her first biographers accept the unhappy story of boarding-school life in her *Summer on the Lakes* as autobiographical, and so it has been interpreted since. Whether the details are authentic or not, it is easy to infer that she irritated her schoolmates and in return suffered humiliations at their hands. Returning to Cambridge a year later, she continued her education, carrying out an exhausting program of study. She began to learn German in 1832, and within a year she read *Faust* and other major works of Goethe, besides Schiller, Tieck, Körner, Novalis, and Richter.

About that time, the family moved to a farm in Groton. Margaret went on with her extensive reading, teaching also her younger brothers and sister, and attending to her household duties. In September 1835 her father came down with cholera, and died two days later. Her mother was in frail health, and so she realized that she had to help her family.

In the Library's collection is a poem of twenty-five stanzas, apparently unpublished. On the cover is a note: "A very touching chapter of her autobiography given by S.M.F. to W.H.C." These "Lines written on my Birthday, May 23rd 1836," indicate her mood in those days:

The day has come — it dawns mid clouds and tears,
The era fixed by my presaging fears;
I stand here at the parting of the Ways,
And must decide for all my future days.

No mark remains of all the time that's gone,
No glorious trophy have my efforts won;
Thorny and dark the paths my feet have trod,
Joy, hope, pride lost, — and yet so far from God!

She reviews her youth with its discipline and ambitions. And then comes this strange observation:

My home I loved not, yet at home was kind, —
To my friends' interests still my ear inclined;

No coldness those who sought my aid distressed.
Most of myself I thought, but wished that all were blest.

She tells of a friend who coldly and selfishly wounded her, of "weary, weary days" and of being "deeply tried," and the vanishing of the Ideal "before the fierce glare of reality." But she has found resignation, and ends with a prayer.⁷

Her brief career as a teacher began early in 1837 in the school of Amos Bronson Alcott, the "progressive school" of that day. In the Library's collection is a manuscript of ten leaves, a copy of extracts from the diaries of Alcott and of letters to him from Margaret Fuller. Some of the entries read:

1836. August 2nd. Emerson called this morning and took me to Concord to pass the day. At his house I met Margaret Fuller (I had seen her once before this) and had some conversation with her about taking Miss Peabody's place in my school.

December 7th. I have seen M. F. who, besides giving instructions in the Languages, will report "the Conversations on the Gospels" as they proceed . . .

1837. 12th January. This evening with M. F. Clearly a person given to the boldest speculations, and of liberal and varied acquirements. Not wanting in imaginary power, she strikes me as having the rarest good sense and discretion; — qualities so essential to success in any sphere, and especially to a woman ambitious of literary distinction, and resting solely on native work . . .

March 17. An agreeable hour with M. F. in whose sympathy and insight I find great content. She takes large and generous views of things, and her dispositions are singularly catholic and liberal. She has great skill in discourse too; few converse with the like freedom and elegance . . .⁸

Unfortunately, the public had little sympathy with Alcott's pedagogical methods, and his school was of short duration. Margaret left it to teach in Providence, at the Greene Street Academy. Alcott recorded in his diary:

1838. March. M. F. passed the forenoon of Sunday with me, being here on a short visit . . . We had pleasing conversation on a variety of themes. I think her the most brilliant talker of the day. She has a quick and comprehensive wit, a firm command of her thought, and a speech to win the ear of cultivated people. She is now engaged in translating "Eckermann's Book of Conversations with Goethe" for G. Ripley's *Miscellanies*. Mr. Fuller of the Greene Street School pays her for four hours teaching, a salary of \$1000 per ann.⁹

At Providence she found the pupils ill-prepared, but she gained confidence in clearing the ground. "Many of those who have never studied anything but words," she wrote on July 3, 1837, "seem much pleased with their new prospects . . ." She seems to have had considerable success, especially with the older girls; yet eighteen months later she confided to Channing:

I am on the point of leaving Providence, and I do so with unfeigned delight, not only because I am weary and want rest, because my mind has long been turned outward and longs for concentration and leisure for tranquil thought, but because I have here been always in a false position and my energies been consequently much repressed . . .¹⁰

She did not want to teach, but she was interested in education, as a part of the letter, hitherto unpublished, shows:

I am not without my dreams and hopes as to the education of women. They are not to be of the Martineau class, though brilliant, such, I think, as you, or any spiritual thinker, however sober-minded, would sympathize in. I have not space for any detail, but should this prove at last my vocation, I do believe you would think them entitled to your aid.

She told that "several lures" had been held out to her should she continue to teach, especially one from Cincinnati:

I have always had some desire to be meddling with the West, and have only been checked in my tendencies thitherward by the mode to fancy that the *East* was not at a sufficiently advanced step of culture for my plans, how then should her younger sister be!!! It [Cincinnati] would be an excellent starting-point for my brothers . . . and I could, I suppose, be more independent of *aristocratic patronage* than in any of the great Eastern cities. If you should remain there it would be a strong additional inducement to come . . .

THE Groton-Providence period was, however, not one of unrelieved darkness. Perhaps the brightest and most propitious novelty in it was her friendship with Emerson. In the *Memoirs* Emerson left a record of their association. They first met in 1835, after Henry Hedge, Margaret's friend, had loaned Emerson her manuscript translation of Goethe's *Tasso*. At first he was repelled by "her extreme plainness, — a trick of incessantly opening and shutting her eyelids, — the nasal tone of her voice."

He also resented that she made him laugh more than he liked. But he soon came to value her intellect and character, and from her first visit with the Emersons in July 1836 she became a regular guest in their home for a week or two at a few months' intervals. Copies of more than a dozen letters, or fragments of such, written to Emerson are in the Library.

Probably dating from 1835 and addressed to Emerson is this fragment:

Why did you not send me your lecture? Have not I a claim as a *literary friend*? I was obliged to *steal* it which did not look well in me, a school-mistress! These are all my questions. As to my biography, much of it cannot be given on a piece of paper like this. I have learned much and thought little, an operation which seems paradoxical and *is* true. I faint with desire to think and surely shall, the first opportunity, but some outward requisition is ever knocking at the door of my mind and I am as ill placed as regards a chance to think as a haberdasher's prentice or the President of Harvard University . . .

As to reading, I have read only two books, Coleridge's literary remains and Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*, both very good.¹²

In a letter of September 21, 1836, after venting her disappointment because Mr. Robinson, the Groton pastor, had invited Emerson to preach at a time when she would not be there, and begging Emerson to postpone his engagement, she writes:

I think you will do it for my sake, for I would do twenty times as much for yours . . . If you were to see me just now, dear sir, you would not like me at all for I am very far from calm and have quite forfeited my placid brow but I flatter myself that my vexation will seem nothing worse than earnestness on paper.

I thank you much for "Nature." I hear much conversation about it that amuses me . . .¹³

On April 11, 1837, she sent Emerson a note from a publisher in regard to her translation of Eckermann. She also referred to an autograph of Jeremy Bentham, which Emerson had given her during her first visit at Concord:

To me as a lady of enthusiasm and taste, such twigs from the tree of genius, however dry, are of course inexpressibly valuable . . . I take the liberty to send Merck and the two first vols. of Zelter. Do not trouble yourself to send them back. All the miseries which encompass the fag end of a sojourn in a city are thick upon me . . .



*Daguerrotype of Margaret Fuller
Made by John Plumbe in 1846 in New York*

But I look to Concord as my Lethe and Eunoe after this purgatory or distracting tasks. I am sure you will purify and strengthen me to enter the Paradise of thought once more.¹⁴

On May 30 of the same year she returned books she had borrowed — Milton, Jonson, Plutarch, Degerando, and Goethe. If Carlyle's Miscellanies are to be published by subscription, she wants her name put down for two copies; and she adds a post-script: "What do you suppose Goethe and Scougal will say to one another as they are journeying side by side!"¹⁵

Among the John Sullivan Dwight Papers in the Library is a long letter from Margaret dating from 1837, in which she writes apologetically about her lack of inspiration in translating German poems, presumably for Dwight's volume *The Minor Poems of Goethe and Schiller*. "Goethe's unrhymed poems are entirely beyond me," she confesses, "when there is no metre to guide me I can bear no words but his own." Affixed to a translation of a journal of Goethe is this note: "He is the light of the age, verily I learn all the other men from him, him from them. I learn to pardon him, myself, all, yet we must not rest where he did."¹⁶ On July 3, 1837, she wrote:

As to Goethe . . . I do not go to him as a guide or friend but as a great thinker, who makes me think, a wonderful artist who gratifies my taste — as far as he had religion or morality, I should say they were expressed in this poem of his "Eins und Alles," of which I send you a rude translation.¹⁷

And in an undated paper, after mentioning that she is reading *Kunst und Altertum* and *Campagne in Frankreich*:

I still prefer reading Goethe to anybody else, & as I proceed, find more & more to learn, & feel too that my general idea of his mind was less perfect than I had supposed, & needs testing and sifting.¹⁸

IN spring of 1839 Margaret's family left Groton and settled at Jamaica Plain, from where they moved in 1842 to Cambridge.

The famous conversations which she conducted for an intelligent circle of Greater Boston ladies filled at that time the place now held by the better women's clubs and literary societies. The "students," twenty-five or thirty in number, met first at Elizabeth Peabody's rooms in West Street for weekly

discussions, and there the enterprise continued through five winters.¹⁹ Mythology, the fine arts, ethics, education, and finally various social questions were on the program. Brilliant and quick-witted, she was highly skillful in drawing ideas from her pupils. Although the work was fatiguing, it gave her an opportunity to express her thoughts in the way that suited her best; at the same time, it was a means of livelihood. The fee she asked was no paltry one. "My terms in Boston," she wrote to a prospective student, "have been sixteen dollars from each member of a class for twenty-four lessons of an hour and a quarter each." And for a proposed class of six, meeting for double the length of time, she charged twenty-five dollars for a pupil.²⁰

Another enterprise into which she plunged with unsparing energy was the editing of *The Dial*. This quarterly magazine, as is well-known, was an outgrowth of the Transcendental Club, many of whose members like Clarke, Theodore Parker, Channing, Alcott, and Emerson, were her friends. Nominally her salary was \$200 a year, but of this, according to Emerson, she received nothing. It was her duty to solicit articles, and when she could not collect enough to fill a number, she had to supply the want herself. On January 1, 1840, she wrote to Channing from Jamaica Plain:

I write to inform you that there is now every reason to hope that a first number of the much talked of new journal may be issued next April and to ask what you will give. I have counted on you for the first number because you seemed so really in earnest and said you had articles ready written. But I want to know what part you propose to take in the grand symphony and I pray you to answer me directly for we must proceed to tune the instruments. Mr. Emerson is warmly interested and will give active assistance for a year. Mr. Ripley and Mr. Dwight are also in earnest for others I know not yet.

Will not Mr. Vaughan give us some aid? His article on the Chartists excited interest here and we should like some such "large sharp strokes" of the pen very much.

This is a business letter — Mr. Ripley would have written you a better, but he is too busy fighting the battles of Spinoza and other infidels. I am going to Mr. Emerson's lecture and have only one hour to write three letters . . . At Newport you prophesied a new literature: shall it dawn on 1840?²¹

On March 22, 1840, she wrote again to Channing:

I have myself a great deal written but as I read it over scarce a word seems pertinent to the place or time. When I meet people I can adapt myself to them, but when I write, it is into another world, not a better one perhaps but one with very dissimilar habits of thought to this wherein I am domesticated. How much those of us who have been much formed by the European mind have to unlearn and lay aside, if we would act here! I would fain do something worthily that belonged to the country where I was born, but most times I fear it may not be.

... One perfectly free organ is to be offered for the expression of individual thought and character. There are no party measures to be carried, no particular standard to be set up. A fair calm tone, a recognition of universal principles will, I hope pervade the essays in every form. I hope there will neither be a spirit of dogmatism nor of compromise, that this periodical will not aim at leading public opinion, but at stimulating each man to think for himself, to think more deeply and more nobly by letting them see how some minds are kept alive by a wise self-trust.

I am not sanguine as to the amount of talent which will be brought to bear on this publication. I find all concerned rather indifferent, and see no great promise for the present. I am sure we cannot show high culture, and I doubt about vigorous thought. But I hope we shall show free action as far as it goes and a high aim . . . From Mr. Emerson we may hope good literary criticisms, but his best thoughts must, I suppose take the form of lectures for the present . . .

You speak of your sense of "unemployed force." I feel the same. I never, never in life have had the happy feeling of really doing anything. I can only console myself for these semblances of actions by seeing that others seem to be in some degree aided by them. But oh! really to feel the glow of action, without its weariness, what heaven it must be! . . .²²

A month later she advised her friend:

Things go on pretty well, but I dare say people will be disappointed, for they seem to be looking for the gospel of transcendentalism . . . Mr. Emerson knows best what he wants but he has already said it in various ways . . . It is for dear New England that I wanted this review; for myself, if I had wished to write a few pages now and then, I had ways and means of disposing of them. But in truth I have not much to say, for since I have had leisure to look at myself I find that, so far from being of great original genius, I have not yet learned to think to any depth, and that the utmost I have done in life has been to form my character to a certain consistency,

cultivate my tastes, and learn to tell the truth with a little better grace than I did at first . . .²³

On May 31, 1840, she informed Emerson that there were "only thirty names on the Boston subscription list."²⁴

The first issue of the *Dial* appeared in July 1840, with contributions, among others, by Alcott, Channing, C. P. Cranch, Dwight, Ripley, and Parker, and "A Short Essay on Critics" by Margaret Fuller. Whereas the first number was literary and philosophical, subsequent numbers contained also articles on social tendencies, Brook Farm, and Fourierism. The four bound volumes of the magazine have retained their charm, however genteel they may seem today. It is easy to understand that the *Dial* was prized by a small circle and won a reputation also in England; it is more difficult to imagine the "storm of criticism," as Higginson describes it, which its launching aroused. Margaret Fuller bravely edited it until the spring of 1842; then Emerson continued it until April 1844. In the volumes of the *Dial* one will find her essays on Goethe, on Klopstock and his wife Meta, and her flower pieces. "The Great Lawsuit," the opening article of volume 4, formed the nucleus of her *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. The arguments of this book are now taken for granted in America; yet in the first decade of the twentieth century they still needed to be trumpeted during the women's suffrage campaigns. A number of other essays in the magazine were later published in *Papers on Literature and Art*.

The question naturally arises: was "the gospel of transcendentalism," mentioned by her, Margaret Fuller's? From her letters and journals one is led to infer that she accepted no dogma but harbored her own broad, flexible belief, sympathetic with the Idealists, religious in temper, and touched with a nature-mysticism. A letter to Channing of October 25, 1840, seems to indicate that the Unitarian trend then so prominent in New England did not satisfy her:

It is by no means useless to preach. In my experience of the divine gifts of solitude I had forgotten what might be done in this other way . . . How many persons must there be who cannot worship alone since they are content with so little. Can we not wake the spark that will melt them till they take beautiful forms and can

exist each alone? Were one to come now who could purge us with fire, how would these masses glow and be clarified.

Today, dear friend, I hoped you would not leave but ennoble the profession . . . You will preach for the open air. Speak thunder and lightning and dew and rustling leaves, and palest stars. Yet must the preacher have the thought of today before he can be its voice. None of us have it yet, but you and I are nearer than others because not so ready to dogmatise as if we had got it, neither content to stop short with mere impressions and presumptuous hopes. I feel it is coming, sometimes I think I shall have it in a day, my steps have I counted, steps of purest alabaster, of shining jasper, also of rough brick and slippery mossgrown stone . . .²⁵

In the same letter she spoke of Brook Farm :

In town I saw the Ripleys. Mr. R. more and more wrapt in his new project. He is too sanguine, and does not take time to let things ripen in his mind, yet his aim is worthy, and with his courage and clear mind his experiment will not, I think, to him at least be a failure. I will not throw any cold water, yet I would wish him the aid of some equal and faithful friend in the beginning, the rather that his own mind, though that of a captain is not that of a conqueror! . . .²⁶

An unpublished portion of the letter may here be added :

Sophia R[iple]y read me her letter to you. I told her the truth that I cannot understand her mental processes, and that what she says sounds to me factitious at first, though my confidence in her always prevents my indulging such a thought. I understand her husband much better, though we are so utterly dissimilar, and she usually goes higher and sees clearer than he does. I can talk with him endlessly though not deeply, with her I can go only a step though she loves me and I her, she seldom misunderstands me, he often . . .

Alluding to another letter of Mrs. Ripley, she acidly commented that there was "danger of people constantly lauding one another for trifling acts of truth and goodness, till they visit each other only on stilts."

On December 13, 1840, she told her friend :

I will not write you of these Conventions and Communities unless they bear better fruit than yet. The Convention was a total failure as might be expected from a movement so forced . . . We will take heed and walk in less muddy paths to the goal, even if they be beset with thorns, and wolves bark in the circling night.

Edmund Quincy and Mr. Adam [*sic*] seemed the morning I was

there like bewildered sheep amid asses, and mastiffs, and wild boars.²⁷

Her impatience with party platforms extended to that of the Abolitionists. In a letter to Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman, dated December 26, 1840, she refused a suggestion that she discuss the anti-slavery movement in her conversation class. She explained her attitude:

The Abolition cause commands my respect as do all efforts to relieve and raise suffering human nature. The faults of the party are such as, it seems to me, must always be incident to the partizan spirit. All that was noble and pure in their zeal has helped us all. For the disinterestedness and constancy of many individuals among you I have a high respect. Yet my own path leads a different course and often leaves me quite ignorant what you are doing, as in the present instance of your Fair.

She assured Mrs. Chapman that, if she seemed indifferent, she never was intolerant, and "never chimed in with the popular hue and cry." The final paragraph reads:

The late movements in your party have interested me more than those which had for their object the enfranchisement of the African only. Yet I presume I should still feel sympathy with your aims only not with your measures. Yet I should be acquainted with both. The late convention I attended hoping to hear some clear account of your wishes as to religious institutions and the social position of woman. But not only I heard nothing that pleased me, but no clear statement from anyone . . . As far as I know you seem to me quite wrong as to what is to be done for woman! She needs new help, I think, but not such as you propose . . .²⁸

Many more letters of this period are valuable records of her moods and thoughts, and have an immediacy and intensity that make them more vital than her literary works. The Library's collection includes the manuscript of "A Credo," written in the summer of 1842, and extending to sixteen quarto pages. The editors of the *Memoirs* have published only a small part of the paper²⁹; it was F. A. Braun who printed it first in its entirety.³⁰ In this confession of faith Margaret Fuller attested her belief in Jesus as "a messenger and son of God." She accepted the miracles, too. But then she added: "If the mind of St. John, for instance, had conceived the whole and offered it to us as a poem, as far as I know, it would be just as real." She considered Jesus "a representative of the ages," and completed her sentence by

remarking, "but then I consider the Greek Apollo as one also!" She concluded with the bold statement:

We want a life more complete and various than that of Christ. We have had the Messiah to teach and reconcile; let us have a Man³¹ to live out all the symbolical forms of human life with the calm beauty and physical fulness of a Greek God, with the deep consciousness of a Moses, with the holy love and purity of Jesus.

IN December 1844 Margaret Fuller began her career in New York. She had recently published two books: *Summer on the Lakes*, in which she described her visit to Mackinaw Island, Michigan, with her observations of Indian life, and the far more important *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. But now she was to become a journalist. The wife of Horace Greeley, who was one of Margaret's followers, suggested to her husband that he engage her to write regularly for the *Tribune* and ask her to live with them. Greeley, in his *Recollections of a Busy Life*, has left his reminiscences of her. That he valued her ideas and the quality of her writing there can be no question; yet he was critical: "If quantity only were considered," he remembered, "I could easily write ten columns to her one: indeed, she would only write at all when in the vein; and her headaches and other infirmities often precluded all labor for days."³² The Greeleys had just moved into an old house on the East River, at Turtle Bay. The garden, orchard, and the woods referred to as "the Farm" delighted Margaret who often spoke of them in her letters.

The columns she contributed to the *Tribune* were mainly reviews and literary criticism, but she wrote also on other topics, for example, Swedenborgianism, and notably on problems of social reform. As Channing was at that time a minister in New York, she had in him a guide to institutions; in a letter of New Year's Eve, 1845, she asked him if he would like to begin with Blackwell's Island. She was especially concerned with the rehabilitation of young women delinquents, whom she met in an easy and natural manner.

As a literary critic she was sharp and unreserved. In her *Papers on Literature and Art*, a collection of her essays published in two parts in New York in 1846, is the article on "American Literature," which opens with the statement: "Some thinkers

may object to this essay, that we are about to write of that which has, as yet, no existence. For it does not follow because many books are written by persons born in America that there exists an American literature." She did not spare her contemporaries: "Longfellow is artificial and imitative. He borrows incessantly, and mixes what he borrows, so that it does not appear to the best advantage." But she admitted that "though imitative, he is not mechanical." Lowell she lashed ruthlessly; recognizing "his great facility at versification," she concluded: "But his verse is stereotyped; his thought sounds no depth, and posterity will not remember him."³³ Lowell took his revenge in *A Fable for Critics*, where he caricatured Miranda — a character in *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* — which was identified with its author:

She will take an old notion, and make it her own,
By saying it o'er in her Sybilline tone,
Or persuade you 'tis something tremendously deep,
By repeating it so as to put you to sleep;
And she well may defy any mortal to see through it,
When once she has mixed up her infinite *me* through it.
There is one thing she owns in her own single right,
It is native and genuine — namely, her spite . . .³⁴

Spite was the last trait which anyone who knew her well could attribute to Margaret Fuller.

The letters to James Nathan record a romantic interlude in her life.³⁵ Nathan, a year Margaret's junior, was a German Jew who had come to America in 1830 as a poor immigrant and made a success in the commission business. They met at an evening party, and she felt instantly drawn to him. They exchanged notes and met frequently at "the Farm." Her letters are full of romantic outpourings; yet there is nothing in them that should be withheld for any reason. The changes and omissions of the printed version are, therefore, wholly unjustified. There are many such changes, as for example: in the tenth letter the line ". . . that was to every worthy and womanly feeling so insulting" was altered to ". . . what was to every worldly and womanly feeling so humiliating." She called him by the feminine form "mein liebste" and the printed version substituted the ending "mein Liebster," which takes the point away from

the letter of May 26, 1845, addressed correctly "Mein Liebster" and beginning "I will use the word again and correct my mistake; and yet was not that mistake an instinct, seeking the woman in you, when myself was in the melting mood?" Even more numerous are the omissions. Here are again a few examples: "Just so when you told me you had carried so many poor women across the mire, I was glad you had carried me . . ." is deleted from one letter. From another, "She [Mrs. Greeley] views him [probably Nathan's dog] almost with hatred. Oh my friend what a singular chapter I should have to narrate if we met. But I do not wish to write, it is impossible with the pen to be just and tender enough . . ." A letter omits the following:

More little things occur to be said. What you remark of Mrs. Child is very correct, except I do not understand what you imply by connecting "deep passion" with "having no offspring." Is not most fruit ripened in the warm climates and does not the spiritual cause produce the same results in the human as in the natural sphere? I wish you had explained these things more to me; you meant to, I think, & then forgot it, for many things you began to tell me and left unfinished, & if you do not come back to me I shall never understand them & I wish to, these most of all, for their meaning seems to be at the foundation of everything.

Early in the correspondence she warns her beloved: "These letters you will destroy now, if otherwise they are not in absolute safety, but, if they will be, keep them till your departure when we will mutually exchange all our letters." Before his return to Germany in 1863, James Nathan offered the letters to Richard Fuller, Margaret's brother, who recognized the desirability of their publication.

The first thirty-nine of the letters were her side of the correspondence between meetings in New York; the rest followed him on his visit to England. Not till she was herself in England did she learn that the chapter was closed.

ON the first of August, 1846, Margaret Fuller sailed on the *Cambria* from Boston, accompanying her friends Mr. and Mrs. Marcus Spring, and reached Liverpool in the shortest time used up to that date to cross the Atlantic — ten days and sixteen hours. She was to write her impressions for the *Tribune*,

articles which were later gathered in *At Home and Abroad*,³⁶ a volume that for the originality and frankness of the observations still makes good reading.

On her travels she always had an eye for the condition of the poor. She went down into a coal mine at Newcastle; inspected the model prison at Pentonville and an English establishment where poor women could wash clothes; and she was pleased with the evening classes at the Mechanics' Institute at Liverpool. Literary people naturally excited her curiosity. She visited Wordsworth in his "florid, fair old age" at his country seat Rydal Mount, as well as her old acquaintance Harriet Martineau. A letter from Emerson paved her way to Carlyle. "She is full of all nobleness," he wrote warmly, "and with the generosity native to her mind and character appears to me an exotic in New England, a foreigner from some more sultry and expansive climate."³⁷ The *Tribune* published her vivid description of Carlyle's manner, stressing that "he does not converse — only harangues," while Carlyle wrote back to Concord: "Margaret has an excellent soul . . . Since she went, I have been reading some of her Papers in a new Book we have got: greatly superior to all I knew before: in fact the undeniable utterances . . . of a true heroic mind; — altogether unique, so far as I know, among the Writing Women of this generation; rare enough too, God knows, among the writing Men. She is very narrow, sometimes; but she is truly high: honor to Margaret, and more and more good-speed to her."³⁸

In Paris Margaret saw Rachel act, met George Sand and Chopin (who played to her), Lamennais, and Béranger. In the Library of the Chamber of Deputies she noted some books intended to be sent to America through Alexandre Vattemare — the book exchange which was to stimulate the movement that culminated in the founding of the Boston Public Library! Her party sailed from Marseilles to Genoa early in the spring of 1847. After a summer of visiting various Italian cities and Switzerland, she settled down in Rome, having parted from her travelling companions.

Italy was in revolt against Austria. The Romans looked to Pope Pius IX for support, but were disappointed. In 1848 Mazzini returned from exile, and by February of the following year

Rome was made a republic. The revolution, with which she sympathized, was to be a vital part of Margaret Fuller's life in Italy. The Library's collection has many documents of this period — not only letters, but the story of her marriage written by her friend Mrs. Emelyn Story, the wife of the American sculptor in Rome, William Whetmore Story. The manuscript extends to thirty-eight pages. It was printed in part in the *Memoirs*, as edited by Channing.³⁹ The changes are mostly stylistic ones; however, the last six and a half pages were left out.⁴⁰ It was to Mrs. Story that Margaret, in the days of the siege of Rome, confided the secret of her marriage to the Marchese Giovanni Angelo d'Ossoli and of the birth of their son Angelo.

Margaret met Ossoli in Rome when, after attending vesper services in St. Peter's, she failed to meet her friends and the young stranger offered his assistance and walked home with her. A day or two later, as Mrs. Story wrote, "Margaret observed that he walked before the house as if he had not the courage to enter, but still wished to see her." After her return from Naples, he became a constant visitor, and together they watched the progress of the revolution, hearing the views of both parties — Margaret, as the friend of Mazzini, being in touch with the revolutionary side and he gaining knowledge of its opponents through his conservative family connections. Soon thereafter Ossoli's father died and he "told Margaret that he must marry her or be miserable." After some weeks, she consented to the marriage. It was probably through her influence that Ossoli, in the face of family tradition, joined the Republicans. He became a Captain of the *Guardia Civica* and occupied a dangerous station on the walls of the Vatican gardens where, as Mrs. Story wrote, "he remained faithfully to the end of the attack." Margaret herself was appointed to take charge of a hospital. Night and day she labored. "How long will the Signora stay?" "When will the Signora come again?" the wounded eagerly asked. On February 23, 1849, Rome capitulated — the Republican cause was lost.

The reason Margaret felt it necessary to keep her marriage secret was the opposition of her husband's family and the danger of his losing his inheritance. Now they were hopeless and impecunious, and left Rome for Florence. First, however, Mar-

garet went to see her little boy, whom she had left at Rieti in the care of a nurse. She found him neglected and ill. As she wrote to the wife of Lewis Cass, the American *chargé d'affaires*, on July 19, 1849, she despaired of the child's ever regaining his health.⁴¹ A letter to the envoy — hitherto unpublished — written from Rieti on August 13, 1948, shows her balancing the past and the present with fine acumen:

Ossoli the other day happening to stray without knowing it into the kingdom of Naples, was arrested on suspicion of being one of the followers of Garibaldi. To get the needed papers for his liberation, I was obliged to go to Monsignor Billa, the new delegate. This led to my acquaintance with Cavalier Ricci one of the old fashioned literati courtiers & pietists, an interesting person in his own way to know, & of a class which will not long endure. He has in his collection several exquisite pictures, three by Raphael in the finest manner which have been always in his family & never retouched — & two fine Claudes. He is a person could tell much to one who wants to know well Italy prelati, Italy artistic; the young Italy he of course abhors, but never dreams that I could have any sympathy with it.

. . . We might be very happy now if we had only a little fortune, living peaceably in one beautiful provincial town after another. The tastes of us both are very simple, our habits independent; it is easy to fill up the day to our mind; but there is always something to prevent being happy —⁴²

Again she wrote to Cass from Florence on October 4, 1849: "Indeed, we know not where to go, & have not yet the money to go with."⁴³ In a fragment from a letter to Channing she referred to her writing:

I believe I have scarce expressed what lies deepest in my mind. I take no pains about this or other things but let the genius lead. I did struggle to lead a simple natural life *at home*, learning of my child, writing only when imperatively obliged by the mind that insisted on utterance, but was defeated & now I strive no more.⁴⁴

A letter to Elizabeth Hoar, of 1849, affirmed her trust in Ossoli:

Never blame *him* for ills I may have to undergo; all that he could he has done for me, all that he had has given. When we look on the sweet face of our child, we think if we can keep him, we shall have courage for whatever we may have to do or endure . . .⁴⁵

However, an extract from her journal written in July 1849, shows that she saw clearly her husband's limitations:

[Ossoli is] ignorant of great ideas, ignorant of books, enlightened as to his duties by pure sentiment and an unspoiled nature, but never failing in the degree his nature has once promised.

The tie leaves me *mentally* free, as I wish him also to remain. I trust in the midst of a false world, we may be able to sustain some degree of truth, though indeed children involve one so deeply in this corrupt social contract and truth is easier to those who have not them. I however pined too much and my heart was too suffocated without a child of my own. I say again I am not strong as we thought.⁴⁶

The controversy about Hawthorne's description of Ossoli's mental and social status, as well as of Margaret's "collapse," is well known. Julian Hawthorne in his *Nathaniel Hawthorne and his Wife*, published in 1885, printed an extract from his father's *Roman Journal* presenting Ossoli as a "boor." Quoting the opinion of Mozier, an American sculptor living in Rome with whom Margaret stayed for awhile, he wrote: "He was the handsomest man that Mr. Mozier ever saw, but entirely ignorant, even of his own language; scarcely able to read at all; destitute of all manners, — in short, half an idiot and without any pretension to be a gentleman."⁴⁷ As to Margaret, the author of *The Scarlet Letter* told his own opinion — a very unkind one — and probably not intended for publication: "She was a great humbug," he wrote, "of course with much talent and much moral reality, or else she could never have been so great a humbug. But she had stuck herself full of borrowed qualities, which she chose to provide herself with, but which had no root in her . . ."⁴⁸ Julian Hawthorne's book caused, of course, indignation among Margaret's surviving friends. James Freeman Clarke defended her, copiously quoting Emerson's high praises, and above all, a letter from Mrs. Hawthorne addressing her as "Dear Most Noble Margaret" and conveying Hawthorne's hope that she would stay with them, too, when visiting the Emersons. Christopher P. Cranch and Frederick Fuller were others who wrote long letters in her defense to the newspapers.⁴⁹

MUCH as she liked simple life in Italy, it was clear to Margaret that she had to earn money. At first she thought of publishing her book on the Italian revolution in England, but a

new regulation prevented foreigners from holding a copyright there. By going to the United States she hoped to make better terms. She could not leave her husband, who was now without employment and who did not want to be separated from their child. In an undated paper she wrote to Channing:

You speak of my whole future, that future here on earth now seems to me short. It may be terribly trying but it will not be so very long now. Indeed, now I have the child, I am often sad fearing I may not stay long enough . . .

I fear terribly the voyage home, fear biting poverty. I hope Fate will not force me into being as brave for him as I was for myself & that if I succeed to rear him carefully he will not be a weak or bad man.⁵⁰

People were trying to dissuade her from sailing on the barque *Elizabeth* instead of a steamer, because of the great length of the voyage — 60 or 70 days — the dangers of storm, and the need of providing her family with all kinds of necessities. However, after an interview with Captain Hasty, she decided for the *Elizabeth*, and on May 17, 1850 sailed with her family from Leghorn. Disaster haunted the voyage from the beginning. The Captain died of small-pox, and the ship had to be navigated by the first mate. Little Angelo caught the disease, but was nursed back to health. On July 18th the ship was near the coast of New Jersey, due to land the next day. But a violent gale, begun at nine o'clock in the evening, was by midnight a hurricane. After the ship struck the beach, the freight of marble she was carrying broke through her bottom. Sailors helped the few passengers to make their way from the cabin to the forecastle. As the danger grew, the Captain's widow and members of the crew saved themselves by clinging to planks or swimming. Margaret is said to have insisted that the three of them go together, hoping that a life-boat would be launched from shore for their rescue. But the boat did not come.

The bodies of Margaret Fuller and her husband were never recovered, but the child's was washed ashore and given a burial in the sand by the sailors. It now rests under the Margaret Fuller monument erected in Mount Auburn Cemetery, at Cambridge.

Notes

1. Biographers who have had access to the manuscripts are Frederick Augustus Braun for *Margaret Fuller and Goethe*, New York 1910; Madeleine B. Stern for *The Life of Margaret Fuller*, New York 1942; and Mason Wade for *Margaret Fuller, Whetstone of Genius*, New York, and *The Writings of Margaret Fuller*, New York 1941. "The collection in the Boston Public Library," Mr. Wade writes, "remains by far the most important source . . . and there is much of interest that was passed over by Margaret's friends and memorialists." (P. 295.)

2. "Reminiscences by Emerson" in *Love-Letters of Margaret Fuller*, New York 1903, 202.

3. Introduction to Margaret Fuller's *Literature and Art*, New York 1852.

4. *Op. cit.*, 11-57.

5. Margaret Fuller Manuscripts (hereafter referred to as M.F. MSS.) no. 114. *Memoirs*, I, 24.

6. M.F. MSS. no. 53.

7. M.F. MSS. no. 34.

8. M.F. MSS. no. 1. Printed in Higginson, *op. cit.*, 75-76.

9. *Ibid.* Not quoted by Higginson.

10. M.F. MSS. no. 35. Printed in part in Higginson, *op. cit.*, 91-92.

11. *Memoirs*, I, 202.

12. M.F. MSS. no. 63.

13. M.F. MSS. no. 62.

14. M.F. MSS. no. 64. Printed in part in Higginson, *op. cit.*, 68-69.

15. M.F. MSS. no. 65. Quoted in part in Higginson, *op. cit.*, 69. Refers to Henry Scougal (1650-1678), the Scottish divine and author of *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*.

16. M.F. MSS. no. 117. Printed in Braun, *op. cit.*, 64.

17. M.F. MSS. no. 160. Printed in *Memoirs*, I, 178.

18. M.F. MSS. no. 177. Quoted in part in Higginson, *op. cit.*, 45.

19. In *Memoirs*, I, 337-8, may be found the names of the ladies.

20. Letter to Mrs. Convers Francis, December 5, 1843. This belongs to the Chamberlain Collection of the Library.

21. M. F. MSS. no. 36. Printed in Wade, *The Writings of Margaret Fuller*, 555.

22. M.F. MSS. no. 37. Printed in part in *Memoirs*, II, 24-5. The printing of this letter is a characteristic example of Channing's "editing." He often changed the structure of the sentence at will, introduced a new punctuation, and crossed out twenty-four lines in heavy ink.

23. M.F. MSS. no. 38. Printed in part in *Memoirs*, II, 25-6. Channing crossed out thirty-eight lines from this letter.

24. M.F. MSS. no. 72.

25. M.F. MSS. no. 40. Printed in part in Higginson, *op. cit.*, 183-184. Higginson prints: "assist each alone?"

26. Higginson, *op. cit.*, 180.

27. M.F. MSS., no. 43. Unfortunately, five lines are crossed out.

28. Printed in Wade, ed., *The Writings of Margaret Fuller*, 556-557. This

letter and a reply from Miss Anne Weston, Mrs. Chapman's sister, are in the Library's Anti-Slavery Collection (MssA3.14, 82-83.)

29. II, 88-92.
30. *Op. cit.*, 248-57.
31. Braun garbles this sentence by printing: "We have had the Messiah to reconcile and teach, let us have another . . ."
32. Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life*, New York 1873, 177.
33. *Op. cit.*, Part II, 132.
34. *A Fable for Critics*, New York 1848, 54.
35. First published in *Love-Letters of Margaret Fuller*, 1845-1846. With an Introduction by Julia Ward Howe. New York 1903. The book is out of print.
36. *At Home and Abroad* was first published — posthumously — in 1856.
37. *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Boston 1883, II, 115.
38. *Op. cit.*, II, 125.
39. M.F. MSS. no. 178. *Memoirs*, II, 281-292.
40. These pages were published by Higginson, *op. cit.*, 241-43. Higginson also printed the larger part of pp. 11-13 of the manuscript, which Channing omitted because, as his pencilled note explains, it spoils the "effectiveness" of the narrative, and because he doubted "the accuracy of the account."
41. MS. MSS. no. 28 and no. 29. Printed in Higginson, *op. cit.*, 268.
42. M.F. MSS. no. 31.
43. M.F. MSS. no. 32.
44. M.F. MSS. no. 58.
45. M.F. MSS. no. 83.
46. M.F. MSS. no. 104.
47. I, 259.
48. I, 260.
49. The Boston Public Library has a volume of the clippings.
50. M.F. MSS. no. 115.

The Correspondence of R. W. Griswold

This is the eleventh installment of the descriptive catalogue of the Library's Griswold Collection — of the correspondence of Rufus Wilmot Griswold, critic, poet, and anthologist, and editor of *Graham's Magazine* from 1842-1843. Earlier portions appeared in *More Books* for March, April, May, and June 1941, February and September 1943, and in the July and October 1949 and the January and April 1950 issues of *The B. P. L. Quarterly*.

REDFIELD, Justice Starr, 1810-1888. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 7 x 5 in. Dec. 26, 1855.

[New York?] Calls his attention to articles by Poe in old copies of the *Mirror*. Requests "introductory matter" for the Poe book he expects to publish in January.

The Preface to Vol. IV of Poe's *Works*, edited by Griswold and published by Redfield, is dated Feb. 13, 1856.

— **Ms.D.** 1 p. 10 x 8 in. [1854?]

[N.p.] Proposed agreement between J. S. Redfield, publisher, and R. W. Griswold, representing the author of *Art and Scenery in Europe* [Horace Binney Wallace, d. 1852].

J. S. Redfield published *Art and Scenery in Europe; with other Papers, being chiefly fragments from the Portfolio of the late Horace Binney Wallace*, Philadelphia 1855 [i.e. 1854].

—, letters to. See Bickley, George; and Cooke, John Esten.

Reed, Henry Hope, 1808-1854. See Reed, William Bradford.

Reed, William Bradford, 1806-1876. A.L. S. To——. 3 pp. 8 x 5 in. Dec. 6, 1854.

[Philadelphia.] Describes arrangements and plans for publication of Henry [Hope] Reed's papers. Praises "volume of Fragments" of [Horace Binney] Wallace.

Reid, Thomas Mayne, 1818-1883. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. May 8 [1846?].

[N.p.] Nullifies the judgment against Griswold in the writer's suit.

Republican Court. D. 2 pp. 13 x 8 in. [1854?]

List of corrections for the first edition of Griswold's *Republican Court*.

The Preface to the first edition of the *Republican Court* is dated Oct. 20, 1854.

— **Ms. notes on.** D. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.

Additions and corrections for *The Republican Court* (New York 1854), about Mrs. Ralph Izard, Miss Charlotte Izard, and Mr. William Smith.

— See also Appleton, D., and Co.

Richards, William Cary, 1818-1892. A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 2 pp. 9 x 7 in. Jan. 26, 1850.

[Charleston, (S. C).] Sends writer's verses for *Poets of America*. Asks about Griswold's *Encyclopaedia*. Has asked W[illiam] G[ilmore] Sims for a portrait for Griswold's use.

Richardson, C. B. A.L.S. To——. 3 pp. 8 x 5 in. Nov.? 13, N.y.

[119 Washington St. (Boston).] Asks Griswold's opinion on a projected journal for American historical societies.

Richardson, Charles Francis, 1851-1913. A.L.S. To W. M. Griswold. 3 pp. 8 x 5 in. Mar. 20, 1896.

[Hanover, (N. H.).] Discusses Joel Benton's article on [Thomas Holley] Chivers, and the Stedman-Woodberry edition of Poe.

Richardson, John, 1797-1863. A.L.S. To——. 2 pp. 6 x 4 in. [1851?]

[254 4th Ave. (New York).] Requests loan until his *Ecarté* and *The Prophecy Fulfilled* are published.

The two books appeared in 1851.

— A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 9 x 8 in. N.d.

[13 Wooster St. (New York)] Offers to sell *The Life and Death of Tecumseh* to Griswold for his periodical.

John Richardson's *Tecumseh and Richardson: the story of a trip to Walpole Island and Port Sarnia* was published at Toronto in 1924.

Richardson, Warfield Creath, 1823-1914. A.L.S. To W[illiam] M[cCrillis] Griswold. 3 pp. 8 x 5 in. Dec. 15, 1896.

[Tuscaloosa, Ala.] Discusses an article on the Poe-Chivers controversy which appeared in the *Boston Transcript*, Dec. 12 [1896]. Requests information on the charges of plagiarism levelled at Poe.

William M. Griswold, 1853-1899, was the son of Rufus W. Griswold.

— A.L.S. To W. M. Griswold. 4 pp. 9 x 6 in. Feb. 17, 1897.

[Tuscaloosa, Ala.] Answers Griswold's inquiries about the *Southron*. Identifies other southern periodicals: *Russell's Magazine*, *The Bachelor's Button*, and *Magnolia*. Discusses the Chivers-Poe controversy; comments on southern indifference to Chivers.

— A.L.S. To W. M. Griswold. 2 pp. 9 x 6 in. Feb. 22, 1897.

[Tuscaloosa, Ala.] Describes difficulty in obtaining copies of magazines William M. Griswold wishes. Has finished his Chivers-Poe article. Sends poems.

— A.L.S. To W. M. Griswold. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. Mar. 1, 1897.

[Tuscaloosa, Ala.] He is not to be confused with W. C. Richards, "a Georgia cracker." Finds that Chivers's "Heroes of Freedom" is the same as "Birthday Song of Liberty." Encloses a poem of his own. Cites another of his poems in the *Century* for November 1895.

— L.S. To W. M. Griswold. 7 pp. 10 x 8 in. Mar. 25, 1897.

[Tuscaloosa, Ala.] Tells circumstances of F. W. Thomas's dismissal

from University of Alabama in 1846. Offers to send copy of Chivers's poem "Heroes of Freedom." Complains of price of Chivers's *Virginalia*.

Ms. letter written in an unknown hand.

— See also Benton, Joel; Chivers, Thomas Holley.

Richmond, Mrs. (Nancy Locke Heywood). See Poe, Edgar Allan.

Riker, John C. D.S. 1 p. 11 x 8 in. Sept. 28, 1842.

[New York.] Publisher's agreement for *Book of American Poetry for Schools*.

Signed by J. C. Riker and Rufus W. Griswold. Witnessed by William Thorne. Written by Thorne? J. C. Riker published Griswold's *Readings in American Poetry for the use of Schools* in 1843.

— L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Apr. 19, 1843.

[New York.] Typographical and other details of publication for the *Annual* [*The Opal*?] and *American Poetry for Schools*.

Griswold abandoned editorship of *The Opal* before its appearance in 1843; see Ralph Thompson, *American Literary Annuals and Gift Books*, New York, 1936, p. 100. For *American Poetry for Schools*, see preceding entry.

Ring, M[itchell]. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 7 x 4 in. Mar. 10, 1846.

[N.p.] Invites Griswold to a club meeting. Returns *Religio Bibliopolae* and *Poets and Poetry of England*.

John Dunton's *Religio Bibliopolae* was first published in London in 1691; Griswold's *Poets of England* in Philadelphia, 1844.

Ripley, George, 1802-1860. Extract from newspaper correspondence. 3 pp. 9 x 6 in. Dec. 14, 1849.

[N.p.] Describes the defeat of Frederick Saunders in his suit for damages against the *New York Sun*.

Ms. copy; writer unknown.

— See also Wood, George.

Ritchie, Mrs. Anna Cora (Odgen) Mowatt, 1819-1870. A.L. To Edgar Allan Poe. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. Thursday evening.

[Fourth Avenue, N. Y.] Sends manuscript of her comedy [unnamed], for Poe's criticism.

Signature cut out.

— A.L.S. To Mrs. Smith. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. Friday evening.

[N.p.] Invites Mrs. Smith to attend a children's party.

— Ms. biography. 2 pp. 12 x 8 in. N.d.

[N.p.] Written in two hands, both unknown.

R. W. Griswold, *Women Poets of America*, Philadelphia, 1848, p. 267.

— See also Sargent, Epes.

Robbins, Sophia L. See Little, Sophia (Robbins).

Roberts, George, 1807-1860. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 11 x 9 in. Apr. 23, 1841.

[*Times & Notion* office, Boston, Mass.] Offers Griswold a position with the *Boston Notion*.

Gris. Corr., p. 65.

Rockwell, H. W. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Sept. 11, 1854.

[Utica, N. Y.] Sends poem for publication in *The Knickerbocker Gallery*.

The Knickerbocker Gallery, New York 1854, includes Rockwell's poem "Dirge, at the Grave of 'Little Freddy.'"

Rooker, Thomas Newberry, 1814-1896. A.N.S. To——. 1 p. 11 x 8 in. May 4, 1894.

[New York Tribune.] Facts about [O. A.] Bowe.

Rouquette, Adrien Emmanuel, 1813-1887. Ms. poem. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. Jan. 1, 1854.

[Mandeville, La.] French translation of Alice Cary's poem, "Pictures of Memory."

Routledge, George & Co. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. May 3, 1853.

[London.] Mention the poor sale of *Clovernook*. Accept Alice Cary's poems for publication. Want rights to Susan B. Warner's works, especially *Queechy*. Invite Griswold's correspondence.

Russell, F. M. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. Feb. 18, 1856.

[Portland, Conn.] Sends a book of poems by H. W. Holley and himself. Would like to appear in *Poets of America*.

Rush, Richard, 1780-1859. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Dec. 13, 1851.

[Sydenham, near Philadelphia.] Declines Griswold's invitation to the Cooper celebration.

The meeting in honor of James Fenimore Cooper, which Griswold helped organize, was held in New York on February 24, 1852.

— A.L.S. To Dr. [Francis Lester] Hawkes and R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 9 x 7 in. Sept. 27, 1854.

[Sydenham, near Philadelphia.] Encloses his article on "Washington, La Fayette and Mr. Bradford" for use in *The Republican Court* [1854].

Printed clipping from the *Pennsylvania Inquirer*, January 30, 1846 attached. 3 cols. 1 p. 14 x 10 in.

S., E. W. A.D.S. To the *National Era*. 6 pp. 12 x 9 in. June 23, 1847.

[Buffalo, (N. Y.)] "Things in Buffalo." Article in letter form on the first commencement at Buffalo University, a memorial service for Daniel O'Connell, and Niagara Falls.

Corrections in Whittier's hand.

Sargent, Epes, 1813-1880. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. May 19, 1842.

[532 Broadway, New York.] Has requested Harpers to send Griswold

a copy of his "little book" [unnamed]. Sends notices of it for *The North American Review* and the *Evening Journal*.

Gris. Corr., p. 107. Sargent's *Life and Services of Henry Clay* appeared in 1842.

— A.L.S. To George R. Graham. 1 p. 12 x 7 in. June 7, 1842.

[532 Broadway, New York.] Sends satirical article, which he offers for \$20.

— A.L.S. To Frances Sargent Locke Osgood. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Dec. 12, 1842.

[251 Broadway, New York.] Sends copy of his new magazine [*Sargent's New Monthly Magazine?*] and returns a poem submitted by Mrs. Osgood because he cannot pay her for it.

Gris. Corr., p. 128.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 11 x 9 in. June 19, 1843.

[New York.] Mentions merger of the writer's magazine [*Sargent's New Monthly Magazine*] with *Graham's Magazine*. Comments on attention paid to articles by Mrs. Berkley (alias Mrs. Mowatt), especially in England. Offers to furnish illustrations or articles for *Graham's Magazine* gratuitously for six months. Suggests two prose articles by Whittier.

— A.L.S. To George R. Graham. 1 p. 9 x 8 in. June 29, N.y.

[New York.] Sends an article by "a well-known clergyman." Offers monthly articles [to *Graham's Magazine*].

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Sept. 15, [1850?].

[Boston.] Recommending the publication in *The International Magazine* of an enclosed article by Mrs. [Cora] Mowatt on her friend Camilla [Toulmin] Crosland. Praises *The International Magazine*, and requests that Griswold visit him when in Boston.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 7 x 5 in. Nov. 15, 1855.

[Boston.] Thanks Griswold for the new edition of *Poets of America* and the kind things said in it of the writer. Does Griswold know anything about books by Allibone and Duykinck which have been announced? Disclaims authorship of a play, *Semiramis*, wrongly attributed to him.

The sixteenth edition of *Poets of America* was published in 1855; Vol. I of S. A. Allibone's *Critical Dictionary of English Literature* in 1858; E. A. and G. L. Duykinck's *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* in 1856.

— See also Greeley, Horace.

Sargent, Henry. See Dewey, George W.

Sargent, John Osborne, 1811-1891. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 6 in. Dec. 22, [1850?].

[Washington.] Asks for publication or return of "the *Times* article." Offers to give Griswold's *Washington* a line.

Griswold's *Washington and the Generals of the American Revolution* appeared in 1847.

Sartain, John, 1808-1897. A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. Mar. 8, 1850.

[N.p.] Sends one copy of Mr. Mapes's portrait and two copies of Sir Thomas Laurence's. Is unable to find "the Poe proofs."

Saunders, Frederick, 1807-1902. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. June 23, 1845.

[82 Cliff St.] Requests speedy forwarding of Griswold's article for use in the writer's volume on *Missions*.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Mar. 15, 1847.

[New York.] Asks his opinion on a letter from William Allen concerning the Harpers' translation of the *Biographie Universelle* [which Griswold was to edit].

Written on the same sheet with a letter from William Allen to Harper & Bros., Mar. 12, 1847.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. July 9, 1849.

[88 Johnson Street, Brooklyn.] Has left his post with the *Sun*; needs another job at once. Asks for a consultation.

— See also Allen, William; Ripley, George.

Saxe, John Godfrey, 1816-1887. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. July 21, 1851.

[Congress-Hall, Saratoga.] Is glad the "pencil-picture" [of the writer?] pleases. What will Griswold use for "letter press" to match? Notes success of his book of poems.

A collection of Saxe's *Poems* was published in Boston in 1850.

— See also Stansbury, E. A.

Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe, 1793-1864. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. July 27, 1853.

[Washington.] Mentions an article sent to the *Literary World* and signed "Curtius," containing an examination of a recent attack on the writer's Indian work in the *North American Review*. Promises review of first volume of the Smithsonian Collection for the "new quarterly at New York." [*Putnam's Magazine*?] Encloses article by a friend for the *New York Herald*.

Gris. Corr., p. 291.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 6 x 4 in. Apr. 4, 1855.

[Washington.] Informs him of the writer's "Invocation" published in *Tour in the Interior of Missouri in 1819-1820*. Describes his early life and publications, and offers to supply additional material for a revised edition of *Prose Writers of America*.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Oct. 19, 1855.

[Washington.] Encloses synopsis of the writer's *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting . . . the Indian Tribes in the United States*, [1855-56]. Gives plans for contents of the sixth volume.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 8 x 6 in. Nov. 2, 1855.

[Washington.] Objects to a forthcoming book of Indian tales which Cornelius Matthews has based on the writer's two volumes published in 1839. Corrects misapprehensions about his early years and studies.

Schoolcraft's *Algic Researches . . . Indian Tales and Legends* was pub-

lished in 1839; Matthews's *The Indian Fairy Book* in 1856.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 6 in. Nov. 26, 1856.

[Washington.] Asks Griswold to commend an Indian narrative poem of the writer to some publisher.

— A.D. For R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.

[N.p.] Biographical data.

Schoolcraft, Mrs. Mary (Howard). A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Sept. 27, 1854.

[Washington.] Accepts for herself and her husband a previous invitation to visit the Griswolds in October.

Scott, Sir Walter, 1771-1832. L.S. To Henry Brevoort. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Apr. 23, 1813.

[Abbotsford.] Expresses the writer's delight in Washington Irving's *History of New York*, by Diedrich Knickerbocker.

Pierre Irving: *Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, New York, 1862, I, p. 240. Ms. copy by an unknown hand.

Scribner, Charles. Letters to. See Street, Alfred Billings.

Sedgwick, Catherine Maria, 1789-1867. A.L.S. To George R. Graham. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Aug. 18, 1843.

[Lenox, (Mass.)] Sends a third article for *Graham's Magazine*; also a notice to be inserted in the magazine, explaining that William Ellery Channing, the poet, whose poems Poe has reviewed, is not the son but the nephew of William Ellery Channing, the divine.

Poe's article on William Ellery Channing appeared in *Graham's Magazine*, August 1843, pp. 113-117.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 8 x 7 in. Jan. 29, 1855.

[Boston.] Requests six copies of the engraving of her mother [Pamela Dwight Sedgwick] used in Griswold's *The Republican Court*.

The engraving appears on page 270 of *The Republican Court*, New York, 1854.

Sedgwick, Charles. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 7 in. July 2, 1842.

[Lenox, (Mass.)] Transmitting Catherine Maria Sedgwick's permission to borrow the sketch of her by Ingham, now in the possession of Dr. William Russell of Brighton on Staten Island.

— A.L.S. To Editor of *Graham's Magazine*. 1 p. 7 x 5 in. May 6, 1843.

[New York.] Offers an article by his sister, Catherine Maria Sedgwick. States her terms.

Sedgwick, Pamela (Dwight). 3 pp. 8 x 6 in. N.d.

[N.p.] Biographical sketch.

Written in the hand of Catherine Maria Sedgwick.

(To be continued.)

Early Drawings by Toulouse-Lautrec

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

A DEBT of gratitude is again due to Mr. Albert H. Wiggin for his recent gift of seventy-two original drawings from a sketch-book of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec. They were executed when the artist was a very young man and had never been seen before in America until the recent exhibition in the Print Department of the Library. These interesting action sketches will come as a pleasant surprise, for they provide an insight into Lautrec's talent before he received any instruction in painting and lithography. The contents of this sketch-book, added to his later drawings and to the magnificent lithographs given by Mr. Wiggin several years ago, further enhance the importance of the collection of this master's work.

Henri Marie Raymond de Toulouse-Lautrec Monfa, a descendent of one of the great families that ruled over the Albigeois region, was born at Albi on November 24, 1864. Being a delicate child, he was educated by private tutors and his mother. His first interest in drawing was manifested in the farm-yard where he watched the draught oxen, dogs, and horses, noting every line and curve. Indeed, he had a remarkable sense of form for a boy of his age — which brings us to the drawings just acquired.

The amazing fact is that Lautrec made many of these fine studies before he had any contact with artists or instructors, with the possible exception of René Princeteau, a friend of his father and a painter of horses and dogs, who may have awakened his interest in drawing animals. He drew horses of various breeds in action. Although the horse dominated his early work, there are records of hunters, soldiers, and character sketches, the last of which seem to foretell the direction of his art.

These subjects that Lautrec saw as a lad furnished the impetus for their creation. Since a sketch is a very personal record, its meaning is conveyed in a short-hand note, the various possibilities manifesting themselves through practice and selection. It is remarkable that one so young did not elaborate in either



From the Sketch-Book of the Young Toulouse-Lantrec

line or value as most students do. Ordinarily it requires the keenest artistic feeling to know when to stop in reducing the multiplicity of nature to simple forms. Then, too, elimination must be supported by selection. It takes years of experience to be in possession of these qualities, and it is difficult to explain how Lautrec found the secret and did not carry these sketches too far to spiritless exercises.

Some of these drawings are almost scientific in their analysis of character and construction, giving evidence of dissection and anatomical study. Several studies — beautiful in proportion, with a sense of youthful strength and animation — seem to prove this theory. That Lautrec took material from some of these drawings in his later work is shown in the unusual sketch of a circus horse which can be compared to the one in his well-known canvas "The Ring Master." This sketch is rapidly executed with bold, vigorous touches; every stroke tells and it is characterized by freshness and spontaneity, by broad simplicity and careful emphasis.

Lautrec was unlike most artists in their formative years, who, if their careers had stopped short, could never have claimed a place in the world of art. His work seems to have had a foundation from the beginning, and not a few of these records can be classed as masterly. Lautrec was an artist even from his tender years when he first expressed himself with pencil, pen, and crayon; and it is a significant fact that the decorative quality of his later work appears in the early sketches. His natural feeling for space and areas is related to the Orientals. He used the pencil and pen in the same direct and sensitive manner that the Chinese and Japanese employed ink and brush, accenting the stroke with weight and fineness where needed to give the line life, motion, and color.

It is likely that a number of these drawings were made before Lautrec suffered two accidents, breaking both his legs within a year. However, in spite of a long convalescence and the ensuing physical handicaps, he passed his baccalaureat at the Lycée Condorcet at the unusual age of sixteen. A year later he entered the studio of the famous painter Léon Bonnat, and afterwards pursued his training in the Atelier Cormon, where it is said he met Van Gogh. During this period of instruction he

added little to his development other than a knowledge of his tools and the application of several mediums. Creatively he seems to have stood still, for the work he produced was not above good student's efforts. Since nothing in the Library's new acquisition suggests tutored work, one can with certainty limit its production to a period preceding 1882.

None of these sketches has dates, and it is difficult to place them by years according to their development in subject or technique. One may assume that some were drawn just before or after his baccalaureat. In studying the sketch-book as a whole, one wonders how the young artist sustained such a high standard of creative ability. It is an example of the early self-inflicted discipline which played such an important part in Lautrec's work. Whatever, if any, were his later influences, his attitude toward his art can now be studied from its earliest beginnings. We know also that if his art had no deep roots in the past, it did draw upon his profound source of human impulse.

The contents of the sketch-book will be produced in the forthcoming *Catalogue Raisonné* of Toulouse-Lautrec's work which is being compiled by Mme. Dortu, M. Brame, and M. César de Hauke in Paris, to be published in the near future.

Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

The Register of the Company of St. Bernardine

THE Boston Public Library has recently acquired the original copy of the Rule and Register of the Bolognese Company of St. Bernardine, written in the middle of the fifteenth century and continued down to 1624. Apart from the introductory paragraphs in Latin, in which the scribe identifies himself as Santis Bon Cordis, the text is in Italian. The manuscript consists of fifty-three vellum leaves, the first four being occupied by the Rule and the rest by a Register of the members, both male and female. The writing is in handsome Gothic letters. This is a folio volume of $12\frac{1}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The covers are of wooden boards, covered with leather decorated with blind tooling.

St. Bernardine, known as "the Apostle of Italy," was born in 1380 at Massa, in the territory of Siena, the son of the governor of the town. Orphaned at an early age, in 1397 he joined the Confraternity of Our Lady, attached to the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala. In 1400 Siena was struck by the plague and for months Bernardine took complete charge of the hospital, assisted by ten of his fellows. Two years later he received the habit of a Minorite, and within a short time he was ordained to the priesthood. In 1406 the great Spanish preacher St. Vincent Ferrer, while addressing an assembly at Alexandria in Piedmont, exclaimed, "Oh, my brethren! there is here a religious of the Minorite order, destined to become illustrious throughout Italy. I myself will return to France and Spain, leaving to this man the charge of instructing those people of Italy who have not yet heard my voice." It was St. Bernardine, of course, to whom the reference was made, and, though for eleven years more he remained in obscurity, his later years more than fulfilled the prophecy.

Italy at this time, torn by the Great Schism in the Church only just brought to a close and in the midst of the Renaissance, was at a low ebb as regards both faith and morals. Into this fascinating and corrupt world came Bernardine, the poor Friar with his eloquent sermons. Often a preaching mission would end with the townspeople consigning their cards, dice, trinkets, etc., to great bonfires. Bologna had been especially infected with the spirit of gambling,

and in 1424 the Bishop called in the Saint to give the Lenten course of sermons. As a result of his evangelizing an end was put to the vice; the manufacturers and sellers of cards found themselves out of business. It was at Bologna that he first made use of the tablets which became closely associated with him. On these were written IHS — a contraction of the name of Jesus — surrounded by rays. It was these letters, symbols of peace, which Bernardine wanted to have substituted for the Guelph and Ghibelline emblems of faction.

The Saint used to hold up such a tablet before him as he preached, and afterwards would expose it for the veneration of the crowd, exhorting them to beg God's mercy and pledge themselves to peace. This, his enemies alleged, was idolatry, and Bernardine was called to Rome to face charges of heresy before the Pope. He was cleared, and later was honored with the post of Vicar-General of the Observants. Three times he was offered a bishopric, but he consistently refused. He died in 1444 at Aquila, and six years later was canonized.

The manuscript contains in the illuminated initial "S" of its first page — the first letter of "Salvatoris" — a miniature of St. Bernardine, clothed in the brown robe of a friar, his tonsured head surrounded by a halo. In his left hand is a book, while the right carries a stick surmounted by a disk. The latter is obviously meant to represent his famous tablet, but though the rays, in red and yellow, are clearly shown, the central monogram is not visible. He is represented as standing, with sandaled feet, in green grass, with blue sky as background. The letter is in red, its tail forming a decorative vine branch along the left-hand margin of the page. While not an example of the most delicate medieval illumination, the design is well conceived and pleasing. One may note also the interesting little face of a monk, drawn with a fine pen, over the second letter, "a".

An explanation of the origin of the Company of St. Bernardine has been suggested through an episode in the Saint's life. While Bernardine was in Bologna, we are told, he restored and reformed the Confraternity of the Good Jesu, an organization which dated its foundation from the year 1101. Bernardine promised them that, in answer to prayers to the Divine Majesty, they should never feel the scourge of the plague. After his canonization, the Company took St. Bernardine for its protector, and held the tradition that though the plague repeatedly visited Bologna their brethren were never harmed. The Confraternity used at that time a chapel in the great Church of St. Francis for its place of worship. Its construction — our manuscript relates — was begun in 1454 and it was consecrated the following Pentecost. The manuscript was written shortly thereafter.

The Rule is divided into three sections: the first concerning the living, the second the dead, and the third describing the profitable fruits which arise from its observance.

The first division — "Of the Living" — speaks first of the eligibility of members: they may not be heretics or suspected of heresy; they may not be concubines or engaged in any unlawful trade. The names of all members must be inscribed in a book, and likewise there should be a volume in which are written the ordinances issued from time to time. There is to be a Massarius — steward — with two assistants who, with some priest connected with the Convent of St. Francis, is to govern the Company. Upon a change of officers, the outgoing Massarius is required to hand over all the property to the new incumbent. The rest of the section is concerned with the spiritual life of the members. On the Feast of St. Bernardine, May 20, every member of the Company must come to the Chapel to worship and make an offering of two soldi. The assembly takes place on the second Sunday of each month. The monthly offering is a quattrino. Confession and communion at least three times a year are prescribed. This was the minimum in most religious rules of the time; the distinctive addition is the raising of the Festival of St. Bernardine to the importance of Christmas and Easter.

The second section concerns the deceased members. A death is to be brought to the notice of all the brethren, and a list of the departed is to be kept in a separate book. Each year the women should say one hundred Pater Nosters and the men fifty for those who died within that time.

The "fruits" are such things as "true fraternity in the religion of seraphic Francis," full participation, both in life and death, in the good works of the Order, and freedom from sin through following the Rule. Any man or woman who wishes to be buried by the Company must will twenty soldi to it. Another rule gives details of the duties of the Massarius. He is to take good care of the altar and the offerings. It is his responsibility to keep the keys of the silver chest and handle the accounts; and he must also visit any sick brother or sister, and in case of death arrange for calling together the Company. There are also specific rulings about the admission of new members, which is to take place only on the second Sunday of the month, by a vote taken with black and white beans.

The major part of the manuscript consists of a catalog of members, with a separate alphabet for men and women. The names are introduced under the initial of the Christian name, in order of entrance, though the dates are noted only in the entries after 1540. There are 456 male and 494 female members listed, not counting those that have

been crossed out or erased. A good many pages seem to have been used twice. Usually both the Christian and the family name are included, together with other means of identification, such as the town of birth or trade, and the local parish. Crosses were placed in front of the names of the deceased, but without a date, presumably because there was a separate Register for the dead. Since the book was in use for at least a hundred and fifty years, many handwritings are represented, some very clear, others practically illegible.

The Register includes three Franciscan brothers, and several other friars and nuns with no note of their affiliation. A few names are accompanied by the title of "Don," a number by that of "Maestro," and perhaps a third of the women are listed as "Madona." It would be interesting if some of these men and women could be identified; several of the great families of Bologna are certainly among them. There are three representatives of the Fava family, and individuals from others such as the Albari, Algardi, Conforti, Vaselli, and Bolognini. But the majority of the members were doubtless of the humbler classes, and it would be hard to trace their histories. They were spinners, bootmakers, bakers, and so on; there was also a locksmith, an armorer, a haberdasher, and a fisher.

Some mention must be made of the orthography of the manuscript. The spelling of many words would seem strange to a modern Italian, as for instance: *honestà* for *onestà*, *satisfare* for *sodisfare*, *cum* for *con*, and *mentione* for *menzione*.

ELLEN M. OLDHAM

Two Books by Grandville

THE Library possesses two of the works of J. J. Grandville, one of the leading French caricaturists of the mid-nineteenth century: *Les Métamorphoses du Jour*, and the *Fleurs Animées*. Grandville, whose real name was Jean-Ignace-Isidore Gérard, was born in Nancy in 1803 and died in Paris in 1847. He specialized, much as Daumier did, in lithographs of contemporary manners and fashions. His first published work was *Le Dimanche d'un Bon Bourgeois*, but he achieved his real success with *Les Métamorphoses* in 1828.

This last is undoubtedly Grandville's best work. It is caricature and satire in its most drastic form, for the men and women are presented in the guise of animals, with the heads of the creatures to which their foibles approximate them. Grandville reverses the meth-

od of Aesop and La Fontaine, who humanized animals: he reminds humanity of its affinities with the animal world. Thus he shows violent, quarrelsome Man with the bristly head of the porcupine; the glutton is a wolf; the greedy eater of good meats is the crocodile; the proud has the peacock's feathers; the person who turns his back on society has the head of the bear, while the coquettish woman is a sly graceful kitten.

One of the best-known plates is that entitled "Sir, I present you my compliments and my daughter." The drawing has quite a story attached to it. The hero was supposed to have been the young Duke of Chartres, son of Louis Philippe, and the heroine a flighty yet virtuous damsel. The Duke seems, however, to have been lucky, and apparently owed his victory to the girl's own father. The drawing shows Monseigneur in the resplendent uniform of a colonel of the Hussars, wearing the head of a screech-owl; the father as a bloated fish in knee-breeches and white gloves, bowing to the august officer; and the girl as a blushing young goose. The Duchess of Berri, a daughter-in-law of the King, was so amused that she purposely left a copy of the drawing on a table during a reception. Overnight, Grandville became famous, and his book was in every salon.

Each plate bears a title, usually sufficient to explain its meaning; yet every one is followed by a tale, contributed by a number of authors. There is, for instance, the scene called "The food-scavenger," with the sentence: "I beg your pardon, Sir, but I was told I would be sure of finding you in at this time." And we see the guest (with a crocodile's jaw) who arrives just as a huge roast is being served. The host, equipped with the sharp white teeth and gleaming eyes of a wolf, is preparing to enjoy his meal while the servant brings in another roast (he has the head of a dog, and is surreptitiously licking the meat). The "moral," as the story further develops it, is that, instead of being a lean parasitic crocodile, one would find it more profitable to be a plump dog-servant; for although it should be the dog's duty to hunt the wolf and protect the lamb, he is now partaking of the spoils himself. The rôle, the author says, "is not edifying, but at least it is fattening."

The *Fleurs Animées*, first published in 1847, lacks the power of the *Métamorphoses*. It has less blatant emphasis on weakness, less cruelty perhaps; only slight, ill-defined irony. The drawings have, instead, a graceful quality absent in the earlier work. Here, too, the drawings are amplified by tales — fairy tales this time. The plates show women in the garb of flowers or, as the story tells, flowers who became women because they were weary of their fairy-land

kingdom. There is, of course, the faithful forget-me-not; the thoughtful pansy; the regal tulip; the narcissus aware of her beauty; the poppy and the cornflower who are magnificent in the field, but die as soon as they are plucked; and above all, there is the lily (*fleur de lys*) who became Queen of France. Almost all come to grief on earth, a prey to their weakness.

The Library's copies are, respectively, of the 1869 and 1867 editions.

HELEN DUSTON

A Gift from Brigham Young

AN inconspicuous little volume containing the *Charter of Great Salt Lake City . . . and Organic Act of the Territory of Utah*, printed in 1860, was a gift to the Library from the Mormon leader Brigham Young. During the early decades of its existence, the Mormon establishment in Utah was held in strong suspicion. Outsiders despised the Latter-Day Saints because of their avowed belief in a theocratic form of government, coupled with the reverence for the divine authority of Brigham Young. Polygamous practices among them were only the final, if the greatest, horror. It was not surprising, therefore, that "President Young" sent a copy of the Charter of Great Salt Lake City to the Library. He must have wished to acquaint a thoughtful portion of the American people with the beneficence of his regime.

Salt Lake City was founded in 1847, when the Mormons entered Utah. The first to do so were a hardy band of pioneers whom Brigham Young led westward to a land outside the jurisdiction of the United States, where they might be free from persecution. On June 27, 1844, Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, had been assassinated by an armed mob in the Carthage, Illinois, jail, and the leadership of the Church of Latter-Day Saints fell to Brigham Young as the President of the Twelve Apostles (Mormon style). If Joseph Smith had been the visionary prophet, he was the practical organizer.

The first emigration was followed by a mass movement of Mormons, and the population increased rapidly during the first decade. Great Salt Lake City was first governed by the Church bishops under Young's leadership, but the community was incorporated early in 1851 by the provisional state of Deseret (a name changed by Congress to Utah). When Congress passed the Organic Act, the charter took on legal force.

Brigham Young's name does not appear in the Charter, but it is known that he ruled his people with absolute power until his death in 1877. The Library's edition represents the Charter of 1860, a revised version of the first document. It is prefaced by the Constitution of the United States and the Organic Act which established the Territory of Utah, as evidence, perhaps, of loyalty to the Republic.

The Charter proper runs to eighty-eight sections. To accommodate a growing population, broad highways and ample house lots were planned. The city limits, as in all Mormon settlements, were remarkably extensive. This brought the neighboring pasture and farmlands, beside the water supply, under municipal control. Indeed, the authorities intended to exercise wide power in all directions. The ruling body was composed of a Mayor, five Aldermen, and nine Councillors. For a two-year term they were to conduct all civic business without provision for appeal. They would appoint and discharge the other office-holders, make every regulation, and administer justice under the laws of the nation.

A crop of special responsibilities is mentioned, besides the general authorizations, and these are made even more specific by an added list of sixty-four Ordinances, provisions to meet the momentary needs of a thriving town, which were passed between February 1860 and January 1861. They include the duties of such officers as the Water Master, the City Sexton, the Pound Keeper, and the Fence Viewers — for all who owned or occupied lots in the city were "required to make a good and lawful fence on the street line of their lots, and keep the same in good repair."

THERESA COOLIDGE

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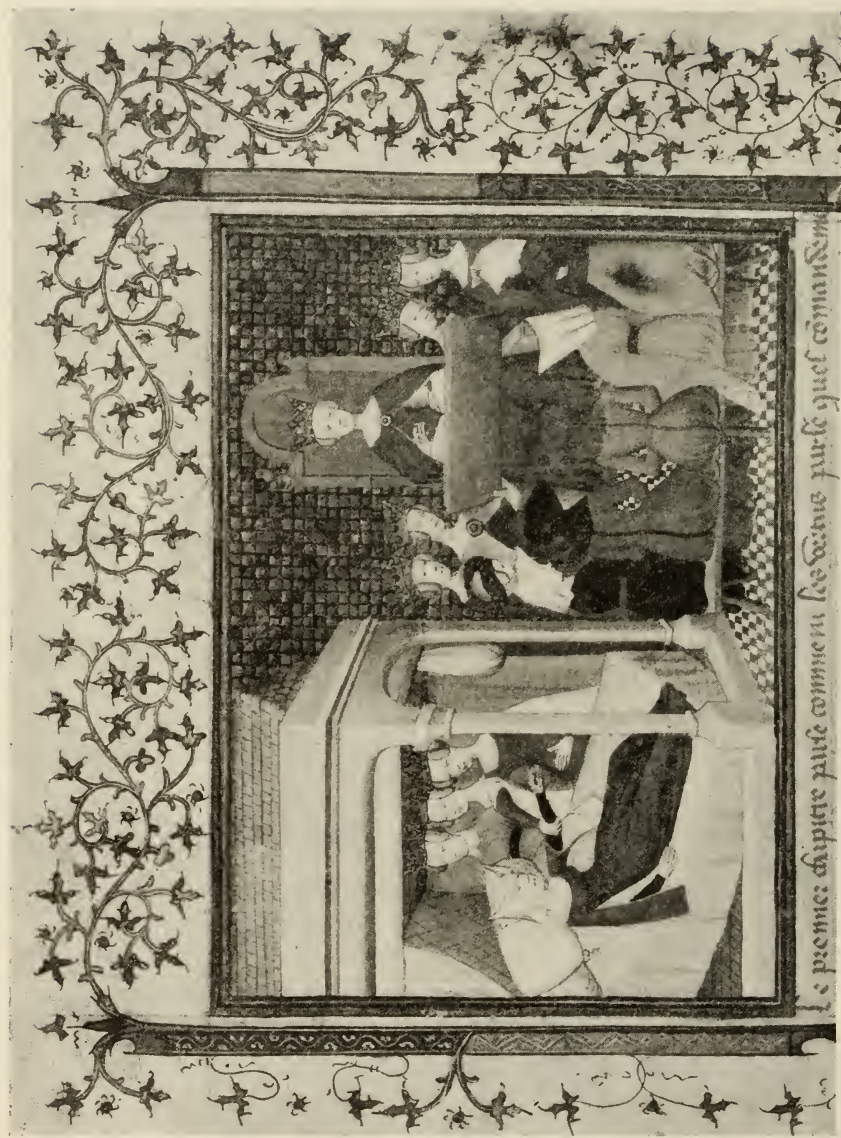
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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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Miniature from the "Three Virtues" of Christine de Pisan, Reduced

THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

OCTOBER 1950

The "Three Virtues" of Christine de Pisan

By CHARITY C. WILLARD

A BEAUTIFUL fifteenth-century manuscript of Christine de Pisan's *Livres des Trois Vertus*, which the Boston Public Library has recently added to its collections (MS. 1528), leads one to a reëxamination of late medieval French life. Several aspects suggest themselves for investigation — one must consider the volume as a work of art; learn whatever is possible about its original owner; give some attention to the question of how Christine de Pisan, the first professional woman writer in France, came to compose the volume; and finally, since the book was intended to serve as a guide to behavior, consider the everyday life and social customs of the contemporary Frenchwomen.

The manuscript, like many others of its period, must have had an interesting history. Since so little is known of libraries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries apart from a few princely collections,¹ one can only guess at some of its wanderings. The fact that it was not uncommon for manuscripts to stray or be stolen undoubtedly accounts for the inscription at the end of the book — written in a somewhat later hand: "Ce livre contient XCVIII feulies et une ystoire. Et appartient a monseigneur de Saint Vallier. Qui le trouvera le luy rende et payera la peyne dy cellui qui le trouvera." ("This book contains 98 folios and one tale. It belongs to Seigneur de Saint Vallier.

May whoever finds it return it to him, and he will repay the trouble of the finder.”)

The volume, then, consists of 98 leaves, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in size. The text is written in charming bâtarde script, in double columns of thirty-one lines each. The opening page is embellished by a double illuminated miniature, the first part showing the Three Virtues appearing to Christine in a vision, and the second depicting a group of ladies attending the school of these Virtues. This page has a beautiful ornamental border composed of delicate ivy leaves, as also a large decorated initial. At the beginning of the second and the third part there are other, smaller initial letters. The chapter-headings are rubricated throughout. On the whole, the manuscript presents an appearance of great elegance.

One cannot date the volume exactly; judging from the calligraphy and the miniature, however, the suggestion of c. 1450 seems valid. Mathilde Laigle in her monograph on the work lists thirteen manuscript copies, six of which are in the Bibliothèque Nationale.² Antoine Vérard printed the first edition in Paris in 1497, under the title *Le Trésor de la Cité des Dames*; Michel Lenoir, the second in 1503; and Jehan André and Denis Janot, the third in 1536. A Portuguese translation appeared in Lisbon in 1518.

Who was Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier? The name brings to mind Jean de Poitiers, Seigneur de Saint-Vallier, father of Diane de Poitiers, who was given a dubious immortality by Victor Hugo in his play *Le Roi s'Amuse*, better known today in its operatic version, *Rigoletto*. The story of Diane's purchase of her father's life from Francis I with her honor, is apocryphal; but there is some evidence that Saint-Vallier was a bibliophile. Whether he or one of his ancestors wrote the note in the book is difficult to determine. He belonged to an old family of the Dauphiné, some of his forbears being mentioned by Froissart.

One may well wonder how the Seigneur de Saint-Vallier came to have such a manuscript. Here, too, proof is lacking. Diane's family had property in the region of Poitiers, a city which under the influence of the Duc de Berry, brother of King Charles V, enjoyed a literary and realistic renaissance in the latter part of the fourteenth century, during the brief respite

between the struggles of the Hundred Years War.³ The Duc de Berry, whose magnificent residence at Poitiers is now the Hôtel de Ville, owned a library of some three hundred manuscripts, many of which contained the most spectacular illuminations and were sumptuously bound. Along with his brother the King and another brother, the Duc de Bourgogne, he was one of the greatest collectors of his time. His Book of Hours, now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly, is one of the masterpieces of the art of illumination. The lesser nobles of the region probably wanted to emulate the prince in his consuming interest; and since the Duc de Berry was, like his brothers, a patron of Christine de Pisan, it is easy to understand that one of her popular books found its way to a smaller collection there.

A good many of Christine's works were copied under her supervision and presented as gifts to members of the royal family. They were prepared, naturally, with particular care. The Library's manuscript, however, was probably copied in one of the ateliers of Paris. The number of errors and corrections suggests that it was done fairly rapidly, in spite of the fineness of the writing and decoration.

It is also interesting to speculate on the question whether the volume was ever in the library of Diane de Poitiers, which was one of the best of the Renaissance. Diane may have inherited from her father some books, as she did a taste for collecting. Her library at Anet was preserved intact until 1723, when it was put up for sale by the owners of the château. Unfortunately, there was no single buyer of the whole. Many items were acquired by well-known collectors and eventually found their way into the Bibliothèque Nationale, but the rest were dispersed and still come into the market occasionally. The Library's manuscript, purchased in Switzerland, may be one of these.⁴

NEARLY all of Christine de Pisan's works reflect her two main interests: the position of women in society and the internal troubles of France. Before everything else, she was a didactic writer, a moralist. As an author, her faults are those of a not too brilliant literary period; but, despite her heavy pedantic style and often distressing wordiness, one may follow with

admiration her course as a disappointed but never despairing patriot who spoke her last public words in praise of the Maid of Orleans.

Christine's own account of the early events of her life may be found in the *Vision-Christine*, which she wrote at about the same time as the *Livre des Trois Vertus*.⁵ She was a native of Italy, born in Venice about 1364. Her father, Thomas de Pisan, had studied medicine at the university of his native Bologna. Later he married the daughter of Thomas Mondini of Forlì, who had moved to Venice. After a period of teaching medical astrology at the university, Thomas de Pisan became, like his father-in-law, a "counselor" of the Venetian Republic, and Christine frequently alludes to the respect with which he was regarded in official circles. Thomas de Pisan delivered his counsels in his capacity of astrologer.

Italy had been the great European center of astrology, outside of Mohammedan Spain. At the University of Bologna a chair of astrology had been created as early as 1125, and the list of professors of the subject there, as well as at Padua and Milan, is continuous from the early fourteenth to the sixteenth century.⁶ The reputation of Thomas de Pisan was such that at one time two princes, Louis I of Hungary and Charles V of France, were trying to attract him to their courts. The offers of the French King proving more attractive, he went to France, where he was appointed royal astrologer and physician. After three or four years, he decided to move his family to France and settle there permanently. Christine tells of their arrival, and of their cordial reception by the King himself, in December 1368.⁷

Christine was brought up with the advantage which belonged only to families of quality. Her father, true to his Italian university background, believed in giving her more intellectual training than was generally considered desirable for girls in France in that day. In 1379, when about fifteen, she was married to Etienne du Castel, a young man of Picardy, who was subsequently appointed secretary to the King. After the King's death in 1380 the family fortune began to decline. The importance given by Charles V to astrological practices had called forth open opposition; in the *Songe du Vieil Pèlerin*, Philippe de Mezières called attention to certain false predictions made by

Thomas de Pisan,⁸ and Nicholas Oresme wrote a series of pamphlets warning Charles V against placing too much confidence in his Italian advisers.⁹ The attacks had little effect on the King, but after his death Thomas de Pisan felt their consequence. Since he had not had foresight to prepare for a less prosperous time (this was the only reproach Christine had to make to her father), the family was in great distress. Thomas fell ill and died; and in 1389 Christine's husband was carried away by an epidemic at Beauvais, where he had accompanied Charles VI. At twenty-five, Christine was both orphaned and widowed, responsible for the support of her mother, three children, and a niece.

It was in these circumstances that she turned to study. In her *Chemin de Long Estude* she tells of deriving comfort from Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, which she picked up one day by chance. Presently she began to write. Her efforts, meeting with the approval of various princes to whom she sent her works, finally gave her a means of support.

At first Christine wrote poetry in the fixed forms popular in her day — ballads, virelays, lays, and rondeaux. A great many of these early poems treat conventional love themes, though she does introduce a note of sincerity in the laments of a widow regretting her lost mate and past joys.¹⁰ The best known — indeed, the most famous of all her shorter poems — is the one with the refrain "Seulette suis et seulette veux estre." In addition to composing lyrics, she deals with religious, moral, and historical subjects, and in three *débats* written about 1400 she appears as *poète courtois*. One finds further examples of this courtly writing in her *Dit de la Pastour*, 1403, and the *Livre du Duc des Vrais Amans*, done before 1405.¹¹

However, Christine was already becoming interested in other matters, impelled by the rôle she played in the quarrel over the *Roman de la Rose*. This famous literary battle arose after the second part of the poem, that by Jean de Meun, had given a new impulse to the satirical writings about women. Christine was the first to take up the challenge. In fact, it was she who started the fight in 1399 by attacking Jean de Meun in her *Epistre de Dieu d'Amour*.¹² Besides writing this poem and, in 1403, the *Dit de la Rose*, she exchanged a series of letters with such learned men as Pierre and Gontier Col and Jean de Mon-

treuil. She was supported by Jean Gerson, the great chancellor of the University of Paris, who probably exercised an influence on her subsequent career.

Spurred on, she wrote two works in prose entirely devoted to an apology for her sex. These were the *Livre de la Cité des Dames* and the *Livre des Trois Vertus*.

In her first long allegory, the *Épître d'Othea à Hector*, Christine had given indication of the pedagogical interests which characterize so many of her later works. In the prologue she states that her purpose was to further the moral education of a young knight.¹³ Her next allegory, the *Chemin de Long Estude*, which she offered to the Duc de Berry in 1403, shows more clearly than ever before her preoccupation with study, as well as her concern about the fate of France and the whole Christian world, both torn by dissension. In a dream, the author makes a long voyage to the celestial home of Reason, where she is given the charge of carrying back to the French princes the discussions which she hears about universal peace. From this time on, Christine is more and more immersed in the problems of France. Although she was invited to take up residence at other European courts, at those of Henry IV of England and the Duke of Milan, she chose to remain in her adopted country.¹⁴

The *Mutacion de Fortune*, presented to Philippe de Bourgogne on the first of January 1404, is a lengthy didactic poem. Starting from her autobiography, Christine manages to regale her readers with an encyclopedic array of knowledge. Her account of the caprices of Fortune does not differ greatly from other treatments of this popular medieval theme. Yet, tiresome though this kind of writing may seem now, the work was widely read in its day, as the number of copies which still exist shows. It was this book which established Christine's reputation as a learned person and gained for her Philippe's commission to write a biography of his brother, Charles V. In complying with the request, Christine made no effort to give an impartial history; it was a panegyric that she composed. In the *Faiz et Bonnes Moeurs* Charles V is held up as the shining example of every royal virtue.

The *Vision-Christine*, too, belongs to this period. The author recounts, in allegorical form, the history of the world, leading

to the history of France. At the end she discusses the ills of the country, thus making an indirect plea to Jean sans Peur, the new Duke of Burgundy. Indeed, Christine appeals to one member of the French royal family after another to head a movement for the restoration of France to her former prosperity.

THE *Livre des Trois Vertus* is a sequel to the *Cité des Dames*, in which, more or less inspired by Boccaccio, Christine recounts the deeds of women of antiquity as well as of some of her contemporaries.¹⁵ It is worth noting that, along with such princesses as the daughter of the Duc de Berry, she praises an obscure woman artist, a certain Anastaise, who illustrated her best manuscripts. The work addresses itself to all women who wish to learn in the school of the three virtues *Raison*, *Droiture*, and *Justice*.

The idea of giving precepts to women for their conduct was far from original. The literature of the later Middle Ages is full of *chastiments*, *doctrinals*, and *enseignements*. Sometimes they are concerned with society in general, but more often with a special group: princes, knights, women or children.¹⁶ Among the best-known of those written for women is the *Chastiment des Dames* of Robert de Blois which, though of the thirteenth century, was still popular at the end of the fifteenth. One may also mention the *Speculum Dominarum*, composed at the beginning of the 14th century by a Franciscan, Durand de Champagne, which Jeanne de Navarre, the wife of Philippe IV, had ordered translated into French; and the *Miroir aux Dames*, written in 1325 by Watriquet de Couvin for Jeanne d'Evreux, the third wife of Charles IV. Their dominant note was to keep woman in her place, restrain her from follies, and teach her above all to protect her honor. The thirteenth-century treatise *Des Quatre Tenz d'Age d'Ome*, by Philippe de Novare, emphasizes that girls should learn to obey their parents when young, their "seigneurs" when married, and their superiors should they become nuns. It is useless to teach them to read and write, for no good can possibly come of it.¹⁷

While the *Livre des Trois Vertus* does not depart from tradition, it presents characteristics of its own. The emphasis is

less on restraining woman than on instructing her how to adapt herself to her circumstances. In order to accomplish this, women could use any amount of education. While Christine was concerned with the problems of all women, the dedication of her book shows that she had in mind the education of one French princess in particular, Marguerite de Bourgogne, wife of the Dauphin. But the Dauphin, too, occupied an important place in her interests.

Louis de Guyenne, the eighth child of Charles VI, was born in 1397, five years after the appearance of his father's madness. Heir to the throne in 1401 on the death of an older brother, his marriage to Marguerite was celebrated in 1404, when he was seven years old. The marriage was a political victory for the old Duke of Burgundy over Charles VI's brother, the Duke of Orleans, head of the opposing political faction. It was in 1409 that the Dauphin began to take part in the affairs of the state. His career was short, for he died in December 1415. He was unpopular because of his dissipations and extravagance, but it would appear that Christine saw in him one of the best hopes for France. It was to him that she directed the *Corps de Pollicie*, companion piece to the *Livre des Trois Vertus*, and also the *Livre de la Paix*, and, as one critic believes, the *Faiz et Bonnes Moeurs du Roy Charles V*.¹⁸

Many medieval treatises on the education of a prince include a section on the training of a suitable wife. This is what we find in the first part of the *Livre des Trois Vertus*, written presumably the year after the marriage of the Dauphin and Marguerite.

WHAT kind of advices does Christine put into the mouths of the Three Virtues? Following the popular literary style of her time, she makes use of allegory. While she was still resting from the labor of writing the *Cité des Dames*, she relates, the same three ladies, Reason, Honesty, and Justice, who had directed her in the composition of her earlier work, came to her and bade her to take up the pen again.

She explains that she will begin the new treatise by discussing the duties of the highest women of the realm, and work down the scale to the most humble, so that all women may find

profit in the School of Virtues. The highest are the most important, because they must be the most noble and have the best reputation in order to serve as models for the other women. Thus she devotes to them the largest space, twenty-seven chapters in all. To make her precepts clear, she describes a day in the life of a queen or princess, from the time of her awakening in the morning, between silken sheets whose comfort tempts her to indolence. She warns her of the dangers of giving in to such temptations; reminds her of her duties to religious observances, to her ladies-in-waiting whom she should treat kindly but firmly; to her subjects, whose petitions she must hear patiently; to her parents, and to her husband's parents, whom she must honor at least as greatly as her own. As for her lord, she is admonished to strive to promote peace between him and his neighbors — a good suggestion for the daughter of Jean sans Peur, whose quarrel with the Duke of Orleans would soon lead to civil war:

For men are by nature quick to anger and hot-headed and the great desire which they have to avenge themselves does not allow them to forsee the perils nor the evils which can come of it. But feminine nature is more hesitant and also gentler; and for this reason if it has the inclination and the wisdom it can provide the best possible way of pacifying man . . . Thus there is no greater good on earth than the wise princess or noblewoman. Happy is the land and country who has such a one, and of this I might give various examples if enough had not been said about it in the *Book of the City of Ladies*.¹⁹

There is also advice to women who must manage their own affairs because of the death or absence of their husbands. In view of Christine's struggles to disentangle the financial affairs of her father and husband, one may understand her speaking with particular feeling on the subject.

As for the ladies of the court and other noble women to whom Christine devotes the second part of her treatise (thirteen chapters), they should be governed by the same rules of conduct as the princesses. In addition, however, they are warned not to become involved in intrigues, falsehoods, and disloyalties. Considering the scandals that beset the court of Charles VI, such advice was not ill-placed. The final chapter is devoted to

the conduct of women who have taken the veil. Here Christine pleads for a spirit of harmony in the group living together :

The seventh consideration is concord, or benevolence, which is necessary among you and which you should love and cherish in your convents as the mainstay of peace. Hear the words of Saint Ambrose in his first book: "Benevolence," he says, "is the common mother of all for it couples and unites people together to such an extent that they are like brothers and faithful friends, caring for the good of others." And then he says, "Benevolence is like a fountain which refreshes those who are thirsty; benevolence engenders peace, breaks the sword of anger and makes one of the many." For these reasons you can understand, beloved ladies, that you should live together as sisters in truly loyal love and in union of peace.²⁰

Christine's only daughter had entered a convent at Poissy, and her *Dit de Poissy* includes a charming description of a trip which she made to visit her.

The third part (thirteen chapters) is addressed to the rest of the women, divided carefully into several categories in accordance with the social structure of the late Middle Ages. There are, in this order, the wives of public officials and wealthy bourgeois, of merchants and craftsmen, then serving-maids, women of doubtful reputation, and finally the wives of peasants, lowest of all. The wife of a bourgeois should be particularly aware of the importance of economy and good management to her husband's success. Christine exhorts her :

You should use great pains and diligence in distributing wisely and using profitably the goods and chattels that your husband provides by his labor, office or rents. For it is the duty of the man to acquire and furnish the provisions, and the woman should manage them and dispose of them with good discretion and in a suitable manner without too much penury.²¹

This concern for the husband's worldly affairs is stressed even more in the case of the wife of a merchant or an artisan :

She should make every effort to know his work in order to be able to direct the workmen when her husband is not there and to reprove them if they do not do what they should, for careless workers sometimes fail the master. And when merchants come to ask her husband to do a certain piece of rather difficult and unusual work, she should warn him thoroughly against undertaking negotiations where he might sustain a loss, and admonish him against

doing anything on credit if he does not know for whom it is intended; for in this way some end in poverty, although sometimes greediness to earn more or the desire for the honor of doing the work leads some people astray.²²

One is conscious throughout of the rôle of the wife working with her husband in a coöperative enterprise, an impression which one still has of French trades-people.

The picture of the servant class is not edifying. Christine sympathizes with the hard life of these women, but from her admonitions about their laziness and dishonesty one gathers that as a group they were the worthy ancestors of those servants who enliven eighteenth-century French literature with their schemes to get ahead at their masters' or mistresses' expense. There is also a delightful scene of a wash-day in one of the great houses of Paris, the unusually feverish activity showing that it was not a weekly occurrence.

Since, as Christine emphasizes, the sun shines alike on the good and the sinful, she takes up the problem of those women who are "folles, legieres, et de desordonnee vie." While she does not disguise her distaste for them, she takes human frailty into account and offers encouragement to the ones who are willing to mend their ways. She even makes suggestions for improving their lot:

For if her body is sufficiently strong and able to misbehave and suffer ills, injuries, beatings, and numerous misfortunes, it will also be capable of earning her a living, if it be managed as we say . . . She should dwell in a little room in a good street and among good people. There she should live simply and soberly so that she is never seen drunk nor disorderly nor quarrelsome nor coquettish.²³

This humanitarian outlook has a modern sound, but in fact it is based on the medieval belief in miraculous conversions. The chapter may also reflect Gerson's doctrine, expressed in his *ABC de Simples Gens*: "One must not judge a sinful woman, nor despair of her mending, for the Holy Spirit may make her good in a moment."²⁴

Finally, we come to the lowest step of the ladder, the farm laborer, the feet of the Body Politic. Christine does not deny the harshness of the life imposed on the peasants, but she reminds them also of the importance, and therefore the dignity,

of their task of providing food for others. The country women also enjoy the security of being near the source of food supply:

In spite of the fact that they are ordinarily nourished on black bread, bacon and soup and must quench their thirst with water and bear a great portion of trials, their life is more secure and more sufficient than many of high degree . . . And if they work the lands of others, let them do it well and loyally as if they were doing it for themselves and when at harvest time they pay their master in wheat, if that is the arrangement, let them not mix rye with it; nor hide the good lambs and the best sheep at a neighbor's and pay the master with the poorer ones, nor make him believe that they are dead by showing him the pelts of others, nor pay him with the worst wool fleece, nor give him a poor accounting of his property.²⁵

Thus, moving downwards, Christine considered the condition of her contemporaries, each in her own sphere. As Mlle. Laigle remarks, "No one was so high, that Christine would not have dared to teach her a lesson, no one so humble as not to arouse her tenderness, nor so vile as not to move her to pity."²⁶ From her pages there finally emerges the portrait of a composite woman. This woman is an obedient daughter, a devoted wife, a mother who raises her children with loving firmness, providing for their future and developing their abilities; she promotes the success of her husband by habits of order and economy; she treats those who serve her with kindness but without undue familiarity; she strives for beauty rather than magnificence in her surroundings, and for grace rather than style in her person.

There have been various attempts to show that Christine was a "feminist," who advocated "woman's rights." This is, however, reading into her writing something which is not there. In the battle over the *Roman de la Rose* she fought for the reputation of women against what she considered unfair attacks; in the *Cité des Dames* she fortified her stand with illustrations from the lives of distinguished women; and in the *Livre des Trois Vertus* she wished to show women how to play their part in society satisfactorily. It was for the problem of adaptation to existing conditions that she undertook to provide some rules, writing: "L'estat ne fait mie le dampnement, mais non scavoir en user sagement, c'est ce qui dampne la creature." (The estate

does not cause the harm, but not knowing how to make use of it, that is what damns a person.)

OF the works which Christine composed in the next few years, the *Livre du Corps de Pollicie* deserves special mention. It is based on the medieval concept of the state as a living body, a figure made familiar by John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. The form of the *Corps de Pollicie* corresponds to that of the *Livre des Trois Vertus*: it offers the same kind of counsels to men. Like the former work, it is divided into three parts, the first being addressed to princes, the second to nobles and knights, and the third to the common people.

By 1410 the situation of France became alarming. This time Christine turned to the old Duc de Berry, who seemed the person most capable of reconciling the hostile factions, with her *Lamentacion sur les Maulx de la Guerre Civile*. During the periods of respite she wrote the *Livre de la Paix*,²⁷ a treatise ending on a hopeful note. But the peace proved of short duration; moreover, the internal conflict was soon complicated by the renewal of hostilities with England, leading to the disaster of Agincourt. For the purpose of comforting the relatives of the victims, Christine wrote her *Epistre de la Prison de la Vie Humaine*; while her *Heures de Contemplacion sur la Passion de Notre Seigneur* was to console all women who had experienced misfortunes. This later work must have been composed after the Treaty of Troyes, in which Charles VI renounced his son's right to the throne and put into his place Henry V of England, married to his daughter Katherine. By this time Christine was an exile, having been forced to flee from Paris, with many members of the nobility, when the Burgundians occupied the city in 1418.

She spent her last years in the Abbey of Poissy, in the company of her daughter. Her literary career seemed to be at an end. No one had succeeded in turning the country from its fatal course. Only a miracle could save France; but Christine lived to witness that miracle. Retired for more than ten years, in her convent she heard of the wonderful deeds of Jeanne d'Arc. The news of the deliverance of Orleans was followed by the tidings of the coronation of Charles VII at Rheims. Christine felt a

stirring of her old enthusiasm, for she saw in Jeanne's activities the divine intervention that she had been praying for. She was the first to write in praise of the Maid of Orleans, and celebrate the new hope for the salvation of France.²⁸

After the completion of her *Dittie* in July 1429, Christine disappears from sight. It is not known whether she died before her joy could be destroyed by the tragic end of her heroine.

That Christine's teachings found lasting favor is amply shown by the number of manuscripts and early printed editions of the *Livre des Trois Vertus*. One can also see possible imitations of her work, or at least the influence of her ideas, in such writings as Alain Chartier's *L'Esperance ou Consolation des Trois Vertus*, Olivier de la Marche's *Triomphe des Dames*, and Jean Marot's *Doctrinal des Princesses et Nobles Dames*. Anne of Austria had a copy in her library,²⁹ and there is little doubt that Anne de France had one before her eyes in composing her *Enseignements à sa Fille Suzanne*.³⁰ Don Luis Vives, preceptor of Mary Tudor and author of *De Institutione Christianae Feminae*, may well have known it. Thus the Boston Public Library's manuscript — the only book by Christine in America in its original form — contains one of her most influential and perhaps most interesting works.

Notes

1. Geneva Drinkwater, "French Libraries in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in James W. Thompson, editor: *The Medieval Library*, Chicago 1939, 414.

2. *Le livre des trois vertus de Christine de Pisan, son milieu historique et littéraire*, Paris 1912, 34-35.

3. P. Boissonnade, *Histoire de Poitou*, Paris 1915, 149.

4. C. H. Bushnell, "Diane de Poitiers and her Books," *The Library*, London 1927, 289-90.

5. *L'Avision Christine*; introduction and text by Sister Mary Louise Turner, Washington, D. C. 1932.

6. T. O. Wedell, *The Medieval Attitude toward Astrology, particularly in England*, New Haven 1920.

7. *L'Avision*, 151.

8. N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mezières*, Paris 1896, 418.

9. Charles Jourdain, *Nicholas Oresme et les astrologues de la cour de Charles I^r*, Paris 1875.
10. M. J. Pinet, *Christine de Pisan, étude poétique et littéraire*, Paris 1927, 221.
11. Roy, *Oeuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, Paris 1886, II, 223, III, 29.
12. *Ibid.*, II, 1.
13. P. G. C. Cambell, *L'Épître d'Othea, étude sur les sources de Christine de Pisan*, Paris 1924.
14. S. Solente, *Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, Paris 1936, xviii-xix.
15. A. Jeanroy, "Boccace et Christine de Pisan," in *Romania*, XLVIII (1919), 93-105.
16. Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature françaises*, Paris 1896-99.
17. *Ibid.*, 182.
18. Solente, Introduction to edition of *Fais et Bonnes Meurs*.
19. Boston Public Library Ms. 1528, f. 15 verso.
20. *Ibid.*, f. 73 verso.
21. *Ibid.*, f. 75 recto and verso.
22. *Ibid.*, f. 89 verso.
23. *Ibid.*, f. 93 verso.
24. Cited by Laigle, 362.
25. Boston Public Library Ms. 1528, f. 95 verso.
26. *Op. cit.*, 366.
27. C. E. Cannon, *Le Livre de la Paix*; a critical edition with introduction and notes (Unpublished Radcliffe Ph.D. dissertation, 1940).
28. Published in Quicherat, *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, Paris 1841, V, 1.
29. M. France, *Album poétique de Marguerite d'Autriche*, Harvard University Press 1934.
30. A. M. Chazaud, editor, *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon*, Moulins 1878, 213 ff.

The Travels of Sir John Mandeville

By ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

AT the Kreisler Sale held in New York on January 1949 the Boston Public Library acquired a number of extremely valuable fifteenth-century and other early printed books. One of the most valuable among them was a copy of the German translation of the Travels of John Mandeville — *Reyssen und Wanderschafften durch das Gelobte Land* — printed by Anton Sorg in Augsburg in 1481.¹ This was believed to be the first appearance of the German text in print until Professor Schramm called attention to an earlier, undated edition by Sorg, probably printed in 1478, an imperfect copy of which he had discovered at Munich.²

The volume is printed in small folio format, comprising ninety-one unnumbered leaves. The type is that round Gothic characteristic of the work of most of the Augsburg printers. The text is illustrated by 117 woodcuts, each enclosed in a double border. Most of these measure 76 x 78 mm., but some, 74 x 118 mm. There are two full-page cuts, of the size of 118 x 197 mm. The first, which serves as frontispiece, represents a young knight with a sword on his left side and holding a banner in his right hand; through the open door a landscape with a church is visible, and above a scroll is inscribed "Johannes Montevilla," the Latin form of the author's name. The second large cut shows the Emperor of Cathay, seated at his table with his three wives, his scribes recording his words. In the Library's copy the first leaf with the frontispiece is supplied in facsimile; otherwise the copy is in excellent condition — the pages are clean, the woodcuts are uncolored, and the binding (oak-boards, half-covered with tooled leather) is original.

"I, John Mandeville, Knight," the narrative begins, "that was born in England, in the town of St. Albans, passed the sea in the year of our Lord Jesu Christ, 1322, in the day of St. Michael; and hitherto have been long time over the sea, and have seen and gone through many diverse lands, and many provinces and kingdoms and isles and have passed throughout

Turkey, Armenia the little and the great; through Tartary, Persia, Syria, Arabia, Egypt the high and the low; through Lybia, Chaldea, and a great part of Ethiopia; through Amazonia, Ind the less and the more, a great part; and throughout many other Isles, that be about Ind; where dwell many diverse folks, and of diverse manners and laws, and of diverse shapes of men. Of which lands and isles I shall speak more plainly hereafter . . .”³ The work ends with the return of the knight, now suffering from gout and “artetykes,” thirty-four years later. On his way back he visited the Pope, who absolved him of all that weighed on his conscience. “Amongst all,” the author writes, “I shewed him this treatise, that I had made after information of men that knew of things that I had not seen myself, and also of marvels and customs that I had seen myself, as far as God would give me grace . . .” Upon his request, the Pope had the book examined by his council which proved it for true.

The marvels which Mandeville reported were remarkable indeed. He knew of giants thirty feet tall who ate nothing but raw flesh and fish; of people who had no heads and whose eyes were in their shoulders; of others who had a flat face, without nose and mouth; and of pygmies who could not speak but made signs to one another, and who lived by the smell of wild apples. Some islands were inhabited by a folk with horses’ feet, or by evil women who had precious stones in their eyes, slaying men with their glances as do the basilisks. He could tell endless stories of the great Chan of Cathay — of his prodigious palace dubbed with precious stones and pearls; of his sumptuous private banquets and magnificent public feasts; of his journeys from country to country, riding in a chariot drawn by four elephants and accompanied by innumerable kings and lords. He could not miss, of course, gathering first-hand information about the Christian Emperor of the Inds, Prester John, who dwelled in the Isle of Pentexoire. Prester John’s domains were full of splendor and abounded in all kinds of goods, but they also had deserts peopled with wild men who were horned and grunted like pigs. Mandeville passed through the whole length of the Empire. He drank of the Well of Youth at Polombe; descended into the Vale Perilous which was guarded by a horrible devil, and where the ground was strewn with gold, silver, and

jewels. He had not visited the Earthly Paradise, the Garden of Eden, so modestly he told only what he had heard about it from wise men. In the islands of the Sea of Java he met hordes of vicious cannibals, yet in that sea was located also the Land of Faith. The happiness of the Isle of Bragman was marred by no thief, murderer, loose woman, or beggar; its people prized no wealth, but lived soberly and long. "And albeit that these folk," the English traveller observed, "have not the articles of our faith, natheles, for their good faith natural, and for their good intent, I trow fully that God loveth them." On the other island he found that the king was chosen not for his riches but for his good manners and could not doom any man to death without the assent of his councillors.

Of all the wonderful descriptions of the world, Mandeville's Travels was the most fabulous. It was natural, therefore, that it was read avidly by all the nations of the West. The blending of the personal element with the mass and variety of information added to the fascination of the book. The public of Marco Polo was limited compared with the multitudes who read Mandeville; and not one out of a thousand of his devotees ever heard of the voyages of William of Boldensele or of Odoric of Pordenone, whose narratives, taken over verbatim and then embellished by fables, constitute the larger portion of the Travels. Well over three hundred manuscripts of the work exist, and the fifteenth-century printed editions alone — in Latin, French, English, Dutch, German, and Italian — number at least thirty-five.

TO be sure, the value of the work was questioned even by some of the earlier writers. Jean-Pierre Niceron, for instance, remarked in his *Memoires* of 1734 that the book was rare, which however was no great loss, for it was "a mass of fables and little else." Yet Dibdin still spoke of Mandeville with his customary enthusiasm as "a venerable English author"; and J. O. Halliwell, in reprinting the 1725 English edition of the Cotton manuscript, regarded the suggestion that Mandeville might never have gone to the East at all but had compiled his book out of previous journals as a "wholly unjustifiable conclusion."

Mandeville's trustworthiness was first seriously attacked af-



Wie komit man
aber in ein andere
insel. do sind auch
vnsauber leüt inn
die habent als gar
groß lebsen wam
sy an der summen li
gen so bedeckent sy
ir antlüz darmit.
wam die sum do
selben gar ser schey
net vnnnd heÿß ist

In dem land do seind mann die habend har in dem
bart als die kaczen vnd seind lange har.



Do ist ein ande
re insel do seind
leüt inn die seind
gar schön. vñ die
mann habē kaum
ly har in dem bart
die seind lang als
einer kaczen. Sñ
die frawen do sel
ben die seind gar
schön vnd hübsch
Sñ do ist ein stat
in dem land die

heÿß latorij. vnd ist nun ein leg von dem mör. vnnnd
die hat ein schifreychs wasser vñ hat als vil schif als
ein statt die man vinden mag.

Do wil ich eüch sagen von schauffen die seind
zweymal als groß als vnser schaf.

ter the middle of the nineteenth century. In his *Bibliographia Palaestinae*, published at Leipzig in 1867, Titus Tobler explained the small number of the Latin editions by the fact that "the adventures and lying stories with which the author tried to win readers did not particularly appeal to learned people, and therefore in every country the work assumed the character of a folk-book." Finally Sir Henry Yule, an eminent geographer, and Edward B. Nicholson, librarian of the Bodleian, demolished all belief in Mandeville's veracity and good faith. In a joint article published in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in 1883, they called attention not only to Mandeville's dependence upon Boldensele and Friar Odoric, but also showed that the rest of his story was mainly taken from Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale* and *Naturale* and from Voragine's *Golden Legend*. Since then the origin of every passage of the Travels has been investigated by two scholars working independently — Albert Bovenschen, of the University of Leipzig,⁴ and George F. Warner, of the British Museum.⁵ Indeed, with the exception of one or two sections, the entire work has been proved to be a patch-work of various narratives, a compendium of plagiarisms — a rank literary imposture.⁶

The first part of the Travels treats of the Holy Land and the routes to it, together with Egypt and Sinai. "If any of the matter was drawn from personal knowledge and observation," Warner writes, "it is contained within the first fifteen chapters only."⁷ It has been thought probable that Mandeville had really travelled as far as Palestine and Egypt, although the description of the route to Constantinople, through Hungary, has nothing in it of a personal nature. "Troweth not," the reader is warned, "that I will tell you all the towns and cities and castles that men shall go by, for then should I make too long a tale; but only some countries and most principal steads . . ." — and these latter were taken from the history of the First Crusade by Albert of Aix. In the chapter on Constantinople, which the author pretends to know intimately, he copied verbatim William of Boldensele, and in that on the routes from Constantinople to Jerusalem, the twelfth-century Latin Itineraries. The account of Egypt, for which no sources have been found, may be the most important part of the work. Mandeville claims to

have spent a long time in the service of the Sultan, fighting in his war against the Bedouins. "And he would have married me full highly," he writes, "to a great prince's daughter, if I would have forsaken my law and my belief; but I thank God, I had no will to do it, for nothing that he behight me."⁸ Even Sir Henry Yule, among the first to brand Mandeville a "profound liar," saw here evidences of personal experience.

The larger part of the work, all that comes after Palestine, was appropriated from Friar Odoric and then from the *Voyages* of Joannes de Plano Carpini, Hayton (Hetoum) the Armenian, and other writers, the whole "swollen" with interpolated fables. Yet Mandeville never mentions Odoric; nor does he give any hint about his other sources. As to his use of Pliny, Solinus, Jerome, and Isidore of Seville, Dr. Warner remarks that he may have consulted these authorities directly or he may have derived his information from Vincent de Beauvais's excerpts.⁹

However, one should not deny Mandeville his due. He insists that Jerusalem is in the midst of the world, where a spear stuck into the earth has no shadow on either side at midday in the time of the equinox; yet some of his astronomical notions were correct. He knew that latitude could be ascertained by the observation of the lode-star, and that there were antipodes. "Men may well perceive," he wrote, "that the land and the sea be of round shape and form; for the part of the firmament sheweth in one country that sheweth not in another country. And men may well prove by experience and subtle compassment of wit, that if a man found passages by ships that would go to search the world, men might go by ship all about the world and above and beneath."¹⁰

The deceitfulness of the author, made even more obvious through his constant reiteration of minute personal knowledge, has led to doubts about the existence of Mandeville himself. The name is not rare in English records of the period; however, no connection of it with St. Albans has been discovered as yet. John Bale's catalogue of British writers, first published in 1548, contained a lengthy notice of Sir John Mandeville, but this was based entirely upon statements found in the work.¹¹ Mandeville's tomb at Liège has been described by several early historians, who note that he was a physician, died in 1372, and was

also called "John with the Beard." The contemporary Liège chronicler Jean d'Outremeuse, however, offers the surprising information that there died in the city in that same year a certain Jean de Bourgogne "with the Beard," who on his death-bed had revealed himself to him as Jean de Mandeville, knight, seigneur of Montfort, lord of the isle of Campdi and Perouse, who, having killed a count, was forced to leave his country. It should be noted that, in the common Latin version, Mandeville relates that he met at Cairo, at the court of the Sultan, a venerable and skillful physician who was "sprung from our own parts"; and that long afterwards at Liège he wrote his Travels at the advice and with the help of the same man. It was by chance that they met again. Mandeville, confined by his gout, was treated by several physicians, in one of whom, "Master John with the Beard," he recognized his old acquaintance.

Dr. Warner suggests that the bearded doctor's real name was, and always had been Jean de Bourgogne; and that, "having written his book of travels under the assumed name of Mandeville, he was tempted by its success to secure himself a posthumous fame by reversing the facts and claiming as his veritable name that which was fictitious."¹² The same writer also found that there was in England a certain John de Bourgoyne, chamberlain to John de Mowbray, who in 1322, after the execution of his patron, was banished — the date agreeing with that of Mandeville's departure for his voyages.

The identification is based, admittedly, on mere speculation; and the problem is becoming more and more complicated by the discovery of new candidates. Thus more recently a John Mangevilayn has been put forward, a man who was similarly embroiled with Mowbray in Thomas of Lancaster's revolt. The name may be a variant of Magnevillain, meaning "of Magneville"; and it has been pointed out that the Mandevilles, Earls of Essex, were originally styled "de Magneville." Endless variations of the name seem possible. The situation has been summed up with fairness by Dr. Warner:

The last word on the subject has doubtless not yet been spoken; but after all, now that the work is known for what it is, the question of its authorship is of greatly diminished importance. Whether it was written by a real or fictitious Mandeville, whether the Liège

physician's story was more or less true or wholly false, or whether it was a mere invention by its reporter, the belief in the great English traveller who spent the best part of his life in wanderings through the known world from England to China and returned home in old age to write an account of them — this still lingering belief must be finally abandoned as an exploded myth. The Travels indeed remain, and it is to be hoped, will always be read, both for curiosity of matter and certain indefinable charm of style; but to quote them as possessing any authoritative character, and to count Sir John Mandeville among our English worthies as a foremost pioneer of travel and adventure is utterly unwarrantable.¹³

THE prologue of the English version contained in the Cotton Manuscript (British Museum) ends with the assertion: "Ye shall understand, that I have put this book out of Latin into French, and translated it again out of French into English, that every man of my nation may understand it." The other prominent English version, that of the Egerton manuscript (also in the British Museum), has no such passage; but the French version from which it was derived states: "Know that I should have put this book into Latin to be more concise; but seeing that many understand Romance better than Latin, I have put it into Romance . . ." The priority of the French version was, indeed, conclusively proven from internal evidence by Carl Schönborn, who also made it clear that none of the Latin texts originated with Mandeville.¹⁴ In fact, there are no less than five distinct Latin versions, each with errors of its own and each pointing to a French original.¹⁵

The Cotton manuscript's ascription of the authorship of the English translation to Mandeville himself is without foundation. Both the Cotton and Egerton manuscripts, dating from 1410-1420, contain a number of glaring errors which prove that the translators often completely misunderstood their texts. (For example, the Cotton MS. renders *montaignes* as "hille of Aygnes" and *signes du ciel* as "swannes of heuene," and the Egerton Ms. calls *ly Comainz* — that is, the "Cumani" — "comoun pople.") The seven other English manuscripts in the British Museum have a big gap, lacking a part of the section on Egypt as well as chapters on Sicily, Mount Sinai, and the Church of Saint Catherine. Dr. Warner assumed the existence of a sim-

ilarly defective common ancestor of the Cotton and Egerton MSS., both of which, he thought, were filled out later from a complete French manuscript. On the other hand, J. Vogels, who was the first to compile a census of all the English manuscripts, maintained that the Cotton manuscript was the original English version, and that the Egerton manuscript, which made use also of a new Latin translation of the French text, was a mere re-editing of it.¹⁶ In any case, the anonymous author, whoever he was, produced one of the earliest prose works in English.

The German version published by Sorg was made by Michel Velser (Michelfeld), probably a native of Bavaria. He must have finished his work before 1409, for there is a German manuscript in Munich which is dated of that year. Little is known of the translator, except that he had travelled in Italy, visiting Pavia and Genoa. He used a French text, which he faithfully followed, apart from a few abbreviations and explanatory sentences. The language is simple, yet indicative of an intimate understanding of the text. The manuscript has often been copied; in Munich alone there are five codices. It is illustrated with pictures which served as models for the woodcuts of the first printed edition.¹⁷ About the same time, Otto von Diemeringen, a prebendary of the cathedral of Metz in Lorraine, prepared another version, also based on a French original, which however omits many of Mandeville's adventures.¹⁸ This version was first printed at Basel, probably in 1481.¹⁹

Muther described the woodcuts as "naive," adding that the nudes are "not unskillfully depicted." Schreiber finds them "done with ability, and their engraving carefully executed," so that "the work occupies an important place among the Augsburg imprints of the period." He also notes that the *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493 copied many of the monsters and curious animals. This is, however, a mistake. Folio xii of the *Chronicle* contains twenty-one such pictures, none of which resembles the woodcuts of Mandeville. They are illustrations of stories of Pliny, Augustine, and Isidore — the common sources of inspiration of both the *Chronicle* and the *Travels*.

All the printed editions of Mandeville are extremely rare. The one issued by Sorg exists in two other copies in America.

Notes

1. Hain *10647; Muther 166; Schreiber 4798; Klebs 651.1; Stillwell M142; Schramm iv, 579-698.

2. Albert Schramm, *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke*, Leipzig 1921, 11.

3. Quoted from A. W. Pollard's version of the Cotton Manuscript in modern spelling, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, London 1915, 5. This epilogue is not included in the German text as printed by Sorg, which ends with the brief statement: "I Johannes de Montevilla . . . returned and had to rest because of my illness, although I would have gladly experienced more wonders; and I was away twelve years." The difference of the duration of the travels is especially noteworthy.

4. *Die Quellen für die Reisebeschreibung des Johann von Mandeville*, Berlin 1888.

5. *The Buke of John Maundeüll*, Printed for the Roxburghe Club, Westminster 1889.

6. Characteristically enough, C. Raymond Beazley's comprehensive work *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, Oxford 1897-1906, devotes only four pages to Mandeville as against 144 to Marco Polo and 37 to Odoric. "As a masterpiece of plagiarism," the author writes, "the work will always deserve attention; but, except for the student of geographical mythology and superstition, it has no importance in the history of Earth-Knowledge." (III, 320.)

7. Warner, *op. cit.*, xv.

8. Pollard, *op. cit.*, 24.

9. Warner, *op. cit.*, xxiii.

10. Pollard, *op. cit.*, 120.

11. *Illustrium Majoris Britannae Scriptorum . . . Summarium*, Ipswich 1548, f. 149b. An English translation was printed in the preface to the 1727 edition, and also reprinted by Halliwell.

12. Warner, *op. cit.*, xxxix.

13. Warner, *op. cit.*, xli.

14. *Bibliographische Untersuchungen über die Reise-Beschreibung des Sir John Maundeüle*, Breslau 1840.

15. J. Vogels, *Die Ungedruckten Lateinischen Versionen Mandeville's*, Crefeld 1886. Quoted by Warner, *op. cit.*, vi.

16. *Handschriftliche Untersuchungen über die Englische Version Mandeville's*, Crefeld 1891, 35, 41. Yule and Nicholson regard Vogels's explanation "labored and improbable."

17. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig 1895, XXXIX, 576.

18. Francis Edward Sandbach, *Handschriftliche Untersuchungen über Otto von Diemerigen's Deutsche Bearbeitung der Reisenbeschreibung Mandeville's*, Strassburg 1899, 7-8, enumerates eighteen such passages.

19. The annotation for No. 283 in the *Fairfax Murray Catalogue* is altogether confused: "Second (?) edition of the first German translation, by Otto von Diemerigen, canon of Metz cathedral, but it is not at all certain that it might not precede Sorg's edition of 1481 (Augsburg), considered the first, though it certainly seems more probable that the book was first published in Germany."

Balzac Centenary

By RUTH WHITMAN

ON August 18, 1850, Honoré de Balzac died in Paris, marking the end of a life as fabulous as any one of his ninety-seven novels. All his contemporaries and later critics have found themselves torn between the desire to discuss his monumental work and the temptation to dwell on his own tremendous life. There are few writers whose fortune so closely resembles the experiences of his characters. With Balzac such a parallel seems inevitable, since hundreds of people in his *Comédie Humaine* were to him friends and enemies who passed under his roof more palpably than his flesh-and-blood visitors. Conversely, he felt free to invent episodes and circumstances in his own life when those that existed failed to satisfy him. And his personal inventions, like his literary ones, were always painted with the broadest strokes and in the brightest colors. One should not flinch at the word megalomania: Balzac exemplified it, as did many of his best characters. In this extravagance of imagination lies the key to both the man and his work.

His mad desire for greatness emerges first of all in his account of his origins. He claimed descent of an aristocratic Gallic family which had founded a monastery, in the fifth century, near the tiny village of Balzac in the south of France. A late nineteenth-century scholar, Edmond Biré, found incontrovertible evidence that the novelist came of a line of peasants who owned a little land in the parish of Canezac. These hardy laborers, who lived in houses built by their own hands, were named not Balzac, but "Balssa" or "Balsa." The family documents which Biré discovered at Albi, near Canezac, included the birth certificate of Bernard François Balssa, Balzac's father, and the marriage certificate of Bernard Balsa, Balzac's grandfather, both of whom were described as journeymen.

The transition from Bals(s)a to Balzac tells a tale which indicates the novelist's rightful claim at least to dreams of splen-

dor. His father as a young man was courageous and ambitious, as well as inventive, and successfully raised himself to the status of a bourgeois. Having served as an advocate of the Council under Louis XVI, he was sent to Tours after 1793 by a sympathetic member of the Convention to take a position in the commissariat of the Army — and to be out of the reach of Robespierre. It was then that he thought of changing his name. The ending “ac” like “oc” was characteristic of Languedoc and, what is more, adopted by many nobles of the district, from the fourteenth-century Comte d’Armagnac to the seventeenth-century writer Jean-Louis Guez, Seigneur de Balzac, whose name suggested a reflected glory to Bernard François.

Not content to follow the pattern his family had set up for him, Honoré at twenty-one refused to become a lawyer, insisting that he be left free to follow a literary career. Born in 1799 in a turbulent era, and a witness of the rise and fall of the Empire, of the Restoration, and of the July Monarchy, Balzac wished to articulate all that he saw and heard: he intended to be the historian, philosopher, journalist, and novelist of manners and morals in Paris, in France, in the Western World; he wanted to write the nineteenth-century’s *comédie humaine*.

He did not fully formulate this gigantic plan until he was thirty-two or three, and it was then that he completed the myth of his origin by adding the honorific particle “de” to his name. The act was snobbish; but not quite as much as his half-humorous boast, after he had won his long-awaited love, Madame Hanska, that he was allied to all the Bourbon kings because the Polish countess was a distant grandniece of Marie Leszcinska.

Balzac as a child worshipped Napoleon. As a young writer he set up a statue of his hero and inscribed under it, *Ce qu’il n’a pu achever par l’épée, je l’accomplirai par la plume*. (“What he could not achieve by the sword, I shall accomplish by the pen.”) Nor was his sense of self-importance balked by his physical appearance. He had an impressive presence, despite his lack of height, with a ruddy face and energetic manner. Théophile Gautier reports that when he was posing for his bust he said to the sculptor David, “Pay attention to my nose; my nose is a world.” But such egotism, when viewed in the light of his ceaseless imagination, becomes simply the tool by which his art is built.

THE *Comédie Humaine* naturally calls to mind the *Divine Comedy* of Dante, as Balzac no doubt meant it to do. The two are as unlike as works in prose and poetry can be; and yet Balzac's method and meaning lie partly in their contrast. Dante creates his poem within the framework of states of life in the other world; Balzac weaves his tales within states of life in this world. In both it is the levels which are most significant — the illustrations and examples within each are almost fortuitous.

Once Balzac has set the stage, his characters have free rein. This explains why his Preface to the *Comédie*, written in 1842, does not entirely cover the case. He knew that the interwoven novels would fall into seven categories — scenes of private, provincial, Parisian, military, and political life, and philosophical and analytical studies — but he could not account beforehand for the results. The sprawling complexity, the loose ends, the recurrence of various characters seen in various perspectives, all serve to give an uncannily accurate impression of human life.

Of the hundred and forty-three novels that he planned, Balzac lived to complete almost two-thirds. The number varies with every editor, for the name "novel" covers short stories, essays, and novelettes, several of which are sometimes grouped together under a single title. The scope of these tales is so vast and encyclopedic that early critics could compare Balzac with no one so appropriately as Shakespeare. Taine concludes his essay with the remark that, with Shakespeare, "Balzac is our greatest store-house of documents about human nature." But Balzac's novels are not only sociological documents. He was a great admirer of the eighteenth-century novels of sensibility — in fact, the superscription for *La Peau de Chagrin* is taken from Sterne — and he was also devoted to Victor Hugo, to whom he dedicated *Les Illusions Perdues*. His sociological interests, then, are strongly tempered with the romantic predilection of his age. But, impressed by his documentary aspect, his critics failed to see that Balzac's genre lay at the beginning of a road rather than at the end of one: that, in short, Balzac was a founder of modern realism.

For elect Balzacians, as for devotees of Dickens, the master's novels demand a kind of initiation of the soul. In return for

complete surrender — and the romantic element requires such an act of faith — the reader steps into a world almost more real than his own. He can virtually hear the street sounds of Paris, touch the characters' clothes, and breathe the very air of their rooms. This appeal to the senses is directly related to the fact that both Dickens and Balzac were keenly interested in the stage, and visualized the setting and action of their novels as in a drama. Dickens acted out parts of his novels on many lecture platforms, and the adaptation of a number of his books to the cinema proves their dramatic construction. Balzac's first literary venture was a play called *Cromwell*, voted by his family to be a complete failure. He wrote and produced five more plays. In addition, he was also a connoisseur of art. Like Monsieur Pons in his novel, he collected, during the last six years of his life, statues, paintings, and furniture. This constant preoccupation with sensuous and visual objects, in the gallery as well as in the theater, is the basic quality that makes the world of Balzac and Dickens so palpable to the reader.

Balzac reveals man as always in conflict with the currents of a hostile society and shows how he is driven to pursue his desires with greater and greater obsession. He himself was an obsessive person, and had in some form every passion that racks his greatest characters. He had the passion for acquiring wealth of the usurer Gobseck and Eugénie Grandet's father. In fact, the necessity to have money pursues most of his men and women, as it constantly tormented the author. Henry James remarked that the hero of the *Comédie Humaine* is the *franc*, an idea which would at least have amused Balzac. He craved fame like Lucien de Rubempré in *Les Illusions Perdues*, who sought it through his pen. He shared the fascination for chemistry which brought the great scientist Balthazar to his ruin in *La Recherche de l'Absolu*. Like Raphael in *La Peau de Chagrin*, he wanted immortality; like Albert Savarus, Count Hulot, and innumerable others, he desired love, which takes every form from the most base, as in *La Cousine Bette*, to the most exalted, as in *Seraphita*. Nor is the high pitch of passion ever monotonous: the circumstances and outcome are constantly different though the spring-board is always human craving.

Love is the main theme of the *Contes Drolatiques*, too, al-



LA BELLE IMPÉRIA.

L'archevesque de Bourdeaux avoyt mis de sa suite, pour aller au Concile de Constance, ung tout ioly petit prebstre tourangeau dont les fassons et la parole estoyent curieusement mignonnes, d'autant qu'il passoyt pour fils de la Soldée et du gouverneur. L'archevesque de Tours l'avoyt volentiers baillé à son confrère lors de son passaige en ceste ville, pour ce que les archevesques se font de ces cadeaux entre eulx, cognoissant combien sont cuisantes les desmangeaisons théologiques. Doneques, ce ieune prebstre vint au Concile et feut logié dans la maison de son prélat, qui estoyt homme de bonnes mœurs et grant science.

Philippe de Mala, comme avoyt nom le prebstre, se résolut à



*A Page from Balzac's Contes Drolatiques, Paris 1855
With Illustrations by Gustave Doré*

though the tone is light and often coarse. Balzac himself regarded the thirty tales as a "bagatelle," an ironical touch of frivolity to ornament the body of his more sober studies of humanity. He wrote them partly as an exercise in imitating the sixteenth-century *raconteurs*, and was, as the multitude of reprints show, eminently successful. Yet these tales are of real literary value; their Rabelaisian atmosphere is genuine, not borrowed. One can find its traces throughout the *Comédie Humaine*, and, contrariwise, some of the novels might be included in the *Contes Drolatiques*, merely through change of costume and scenery.

The Boston Public Library has recently acquired a magnificent edition of the *Contes*, published in 1855, and illustrated with 425 engravings by Gustave Doré, whose designs are masterpieces of caricature, making the volume one of the great French illustrated books of the century. It is a dedication copy offered to the English book collector, Frederick Locker, "vraiment affectueux" by Doré, under the date "London 30 Mai, '68." This must have been one of the earliest impressions; a comparison with other copies especially reveals the unusual brilliance and clarity of the plates. Inserted is a letter from Balzac to Sophie Kosłowska, written probably in March 1842, and sending theater tickets to her and her mother.

ONE of Balzac's most outstanding qualities was his extraordinary knowledge of womankind. He himself said, in the introduction to the *Physiology of Marriage*: "Amid all the distractions of the world and of life, the author always heard a voice ringing in his ears, and mockingly revealing the secrets of things at the very moment he was watching a woman as she danced, smiled, or talked." It is significant, too, that the large majority of Balzac's critics and biographers are women, just as were the bulk of his literary admirers during his lifetime. One would perhaps expect a good deal of cynicism in both the *Droll Tales* and *Comédie Humaine*, but every bitter and ironical story has its counterpart in a tale which is utterly sentimental and chaste. Balzac's experiences with women were poignant in every form. His mother was proud and cold, leaving him with an endless

frustration for maternal affection. His sister Laure, on the other hand, was his most beloved companion and confidante, and he felt an overwhelming tenderness for her daughters, to each of whom he dedicated one of his novels.

Balzac's preoccupation with the woman of thirty has become famous: *La Femme de Trente Ans* was one of the first books to win him wide reputation. Many of his heroines approach middle age, their attractiveness enhanced by their mellowness. At the beginning of his career, Balzac met Madame de Berny, a woman fifteen years older than he, who became his friend, critic, and financial adviser, and probably provided the prototype for the experienced mistress. Madame de Berny rescued him when he was on the point of ruin in a publishing venture; she was always ready to comfort him, to inspire him, and she had the wisdom to renounce him when she felt she had grown too old.

Another lifelong friend was Madame Zulma Carraud, whose correspondence reveals her deep and unselfish friendship. Balzac's more superficial affairs among ladies of the aristocracy included the Duchess d'Abrantes, who appears in many of his stories, and the Duchess de Castries, who treated him very rudely. An excursion to Italy with Madame Caroline Marbouty, who traveled with him disguised as his page, was carried off in a manner worthy of the drollest of the *Contes Drolatiques*. But his most consuming love was Madame Hanska, *née* Countess Rzewuska, who led him through seventeen years of joy and suffering. She was almost thirty when he met her, and she had wealth, beauty, and literary sensitivity. Critics have justified and reviled her in turn for keeping Balzac uncertain so long after her husband's death. Whether her hesitation was a reluctance to commit herself, or whether it was really on her daughter's account, it was plainly not because of the Czar's control over her property, as Balzac pretended. *The Imaginary Mistress* is perhaps the most bitter portrait of a clever and powerful woman who keeps herself out of the reach of her poor adorer.

As though his volcanic nature were not enough, the prize of Madame Hanska's hand caused Balzac to multiply his energies. He worked eighteen hours a day, clad in the strange monkish costume in which Louis Boulanger painted his portrait. He ate

little, subsisted almost solely on black coffee, and wrote sometimes as many as four or five volumes at a time. Meanwhile, he bought property; invested in headlong speculations, including an appalling trip to Sardinia to exploit the silver mines of the Romans; made dazzling appearances in society; dashed all over the continent, and finally went to Russia in an attempt to win Madame Hanska.

When he did win her, he was ill and old. He made the treacherous trip from Russia to Paris to die, at the age of fifty-one, in the house he had so long prepared for his bride. Hearing that he had only a fortnight to live, he cried: "Quick, a pen and some paper — that's time enough to write another novel."

BALZAC early achieved international fame; but he also had his enemies. The Academy repeatedly rejected him, despite Victor Hugo's support, and this was a great disappointment. Saint-Beuve, hostile while he lived, wrote an excellent appraisal after his death, as did also his good comrades, Georges Sand and Théophile Gautier. The latter contributed the introduction to the first complete edition of the *Comédie Humaine*. The Vicomte de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul took charge of his manuscripts, serving as their first editor. The memoir written by Balzac's sister, Madame Laure Surville, is the basis of all subsequent biographies.

Balzac's first English translator was Katherine Prescott Wormeley, a New England woman. She translated the novels with ability and sympathy, and her discussion of her problems offers a penetrating analysis of his style. Her work, however, faded into obscurity before George Saintsbury's championship of the writer in the later nineties. Saintsbury brought out the *Human Comedy*, translated by various people, including Ellen Marriage and Clara Bell, in forty volumes, with introductions to each novel. Unfortunately, these versions, which have been reprinted many times, slow down Balzac's pace, clog his intense and nervous style, and cast him into a Victorian mold. It is pleasant, therefore, to note that some new translations have recently appeared.

The Boston Public Library has a copy of the second issue of

La Peau de Chagrin, in the original wrappers, printed in Paris in 1831 in two volumes, the first containing a signed inscription by Balzac: "Offert à Madame Emile de Girardin comme un témoignage d'admiration." The Library possesses the *Oeuvres Illustrées*, published in 1851 in two volumes. It is lavishly illustrated with drawings by Daumier, Johannot, Meissonnier, and others. In addition, the Library also has the *Oeuvres Complètes* in forty-five volumes, 1858-65 and the *Oeuvres Complètes Définitives* in twenty-four volumes, 1869-99.

Perhaps the most telling monument to the great novelist is Rodin's well-known statue. He was a subject indeed in which Rodin could find delight. Rodin's Balzac is a portrayal of gigantic energies wresting form out of the faceless clay and rock. Like the *Comédie Humaine*, it gives the impression of being unfinished, of having just emerged from primal matter, aspiring toward perfection, but with its roots still in chaos.

An Albany Journal by Gansevoort Melville

A FEW days before Allan Melvill died, in January 1832, he marked these lines of Psalm LV in the family Bible: "My heart is sore pained within me: and the terrors of death are fallen upon me. Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me and horror hath overwhelmed me."¹ The normal terrors of death were increased for Allan Melvill by the realization that he was leaving his large family in a most painful and precarious financial situation. Instead of rescuing him from accumulated debt, his last commercial effort, a semi-independent fur and hat business in Albany, had added to his burden.

After the body and ambitions of Allan Melvill had been laid to rest in the Dutch church section of the common burying-ground, the emotional blow suffered by the family was joined by the revelation of their serious financial state. Mrs. Melvill's brother, Peter Gansevoort, was of a respected Albany family, but his late brother-in-law had already borrowed too heavily from him. The Melvill family could not be much help, for Allan had overdrawn his share of his father's legacy in a last attempt at solvency -- a fact to be revealed by Major Melvill's death in Boston a year later. Debts would have to be paid and the family of mother, four boys and three girls, would have to eat, so economies had to be enforced and jobs had to be found. Only the two eldest boys, Gansevoort and Herman, were at a "paying School," and they were withdrawn from the Albany Academy before a new term began.

Of these two, the one who was to be remembered far beyond his generation and his family -- Herman -- was secured a junior clerking job at the New York State Bank, where Peter Gansevoort was on the board of directors. It was the eldest brother, Gansevoort, in whom the faith and hopes of the family resided. There is a document dated two months after Allan Melvill's death, signed by his wife and endorsed by her brother Peter: "This is to certify that my son Gansevoort Melvill, is carrying

1. The Melville Family Bible is in the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection at the New York Public Library.

on the Fur, and Cap business in the City of Albany, on my account, and that I hold myself responsible for all debts contracted by said son, in the course of said business . . .”²

It would be the family hopeful who would reinstate them in secure society and recoup all his father’s losses. By September 24, seventeen-year-old Gansevoort felt that this trust was well-placed; and his mother made a private note this day — to look at later: “Gansevoort Melville³ says that in two years from this time he will make his Fur business worth a Net profit of \$10,000 a year . . .”⁴ Within half this term Gansevoort’s Uncle Thomas Melvill showed a certain loss of faith — if he ever had any in the business acumen of his brother’s heir. He wrote to a friend, “It is hoped Gansevoort is doing pretty well — But, on acct of his youth, & inexperience, I cannot cease to be anxious.”⁵

A journal kept by Gansevoort, of which one fragment — for the first three months of 1834 — has been preserved, shows a more interestingly divided attention than available characterizations of Gansevoort have hitherto indicated.⁶ Though its details of Gansevoort’s fur and skin business take on special drama for us now, for we know that he must fail before his brother Herman is driven to sea and art, there is here an unexpected illumination of Gansevoort’s own artistic ambitions. After days filled with counting “Hair Seal skins,” selling ladies’ capes and men’s hats, calculating alum and bran mixtures for the treatment of the skins, he was spending his nights at the store, not only as a watchman, but as slave of the dark beauties of Byron’s *Bride of Abydos* or as critic of the literary solutions in Grattan’s *Jacqueline of Holland*. Though his father’s library was sold before they left New York City, Gansevoort had at least five

2. In the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection.

3. It must have been in his first months as head of the Albany Melvills that Gansevoort altered the family name from its Scottish form to an English, a more elegant “Melville.”

4. In the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection.

5. Among the Shaw Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

6. The Journal is in the possession of the Misses Agnes, Helen, and Margaret Morewood, grand-nieces of Gansevoort and Herman Melville.

A later journal kept by Gansevoort Melville in London in 1846, before his death while occupying the post of Secretary at the American Legation, is in the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection, and has been partially published by Victor H. Paltsits in *Bookmen’s Holiday* (New York, 1943).

other libraries at his (and the family's) service — the Gansevoorts' private library, the libraries at the Albany Academy and the newly formed Young Men's Association, the Athenaeum Library, and the reading-room of John Cook.

Behind both store and literature loomed money, the pain of lacking it, the blessings of possessing large quantities of it, its pavement of the road to any desire. The single-minded purpose taught him by the tale taken from Surr's *Winter in London* was "To make money, it only requires a cool dispassionate disposition joined with talents even below mediocrity, and a determination to sacrifice every inclination and feeling that may come in contact with it." In the light of Gansevoort's later choice of a political career, it seems natural for him to have found in Isaac Watts's *Improvement of the Mind* a guide to the advantages which will raise a man "above his fellows . . . make him their leader," and, in a word, "give him power."

Helen Maria's circulation of *Reginald Dalton* indicates what usually happened to any interesting book brought home by Gansevoort. Of the several works read by Gansevoort in these months of 1834 it is this Lockhart novel that bridges to the later works by his brother Herman. Mix *Reginald Dalton* with *The Bride of Abydos* and one gets an approximation of those newspaper "Fragments from a Writing Desk" of five years later, signed "L.A.V." — or could the initials have been Gansevoort's pseudonym, and not Herman's?! Look also in *Reginald Dalton*, particularly in those opening chapters admired by Gansevoort ("The character given of Reginald before he leaves home, and the manner in which he is situated is true to nature, and almost inimitable in description-"), for an artistic ancestor of the character and situation of Herman Melville's *Pierre*. It is startling for readers of *Pierre* to hear *Reginald Dalton's* heroine strum a guitar and to read of betrayed "Lucy!"⁷ Startling, too, to follow Gansevoort's thoughts on seeing the elephants at the Menagerie — forward to the elephants of *Moby Dick*.

Though some members of the family are not mentioned in this journal, those who figure here are portrayed intimately and memorably by Gansevoort's pen: his mother, backed by her

7. Lockhart's novel may even have provided a hint for one of *Pierre's* greatest images, in the reference in Vol. I to "Enceladus, jaculator audax."

brother Peter, spending too much of her time in the courts patching up her dead husband's mistaken judgments; sound advice from Uncle Herman Gansevoort (after whom had been named one of the not-so-promising Melvill boys); lame but sociable sister Helen Maria; brother Allan helping out at the store; Herman forced to explain his presence in a Schenectady hotel bar. The other glimpses of Albany society are sharp — sympathetic Alexander Bradford, debonair Smith Sheldon, the battles of debating wits at the Young Men's Association, where Herman was to follow the next year, but never to challenge Gansevoort, who was on his way (with several frustrating interruptions) to a brief but wordy career in law, politics, and diplomacy.

JAY LEYDA

Journal

January 4, 1834 — March 24, 1834

Jan^y 4th 1834 Saturday

At 11 A M hired a horse and cutter of Kendall, and went to the mill on Norman's kill creek, (Sawyer's fulling mill) with 175 Muskrat skins to try the effect of milling them to soften the pelt and break it up, took my mother with me and left her as I went out at Whitehall. The skins were about 2½ hours in the mill, and were very much softened, could with ease have put in 75 more when the mill had worked on them a little, skins will mill best (Muskrat) if they are sewed up and the pelt slightly dampened with a pickle of salt and water and a little alum, and then left to mull 36 or 48 hours. Grease will not answer. Bran is a great assistance to make them full quick.*

On my way back stopped at Whitehall and there for the first time saw Mrs Gansevoort Ten Eyck, he married her at Little falls, she is a small, black eyed and rather pretty woman, brought him

*It should be noted that Gansevoort Melville, like so many diarists of the time, generally used a dash instead of a period; and that none of his daily entries is broken by indentions. The period signs and the divisions into paragraphs have been introduced, for the sake of readability, by the Editor of *The BPL Quarterly*.

\$10.000, they have a child apparently about 16 or 18 months old. Took my mother back with me. Kendall charged me a dollar for the use of horse & cutter. Mother was much pleased with the ride.

Slept in the store, before going to bed read part of the bride of Abydos, and was particularly pleased with the 10th 11th 12th & 13th stanzas especially the lines immediately following "My love thou surely knewest before" in the 13th the character of Zuleika as portrayed by Byron in the bride of Abydos, is the most sweetly beautiful female character that I have ever met with in Poetry, so gentle, affectionate, amiable, & ingenuous in disposition, so simply beautiful in her ideas, and so happy in expressing them, and appearing to possess every quality of heart and mind, calculated to make those around her happy, joined with a person, which would realize all the ideas that the Mahometan has of the beauty of the Houris, those dark eyed girls of Paradise, all conspire to make a woman as near perfection, as it is possible for her to attain.

Jan^y 5th Sunday

Was rather fatigued in the m^g and slept till nearly nine o'clock. Spent the night at the store very comfortably. Read in a work entitled "Specimens of Novelist's & Romancers by Rich^d Griffin" an extract from a novel by Thos Skinner Surr entitled Winter in London (Surr was also the author of Consequences, a novel 2 vols, George Barnwell, Splendid Misery, & other novels which are still to be found in almost every Circulating library) a tale called The Founder of a Family — and if any person wishes to be [inch tear in MS] the truth of the old saying, that pence get shillings and shillings pounds, he has only to read this tale, if that does not convince him of its truth. And also that superior talents are not essential to making money I will say that black is white. To make money, it only requires a cool dispassionate disposition joined with talents even below mediocrity, and a determination to sacrifice every inclination and feeling that may come in contact with it.

Did not attend church either m^g afternoon or eve^g. At tea-time Miss Catherine Douw called for Helen and I escorted them to Mr Campbell's lecture room, made her a present of a very pretty S.O. tie, she looks prettier than she used to and has grown much more lively. About seven o'clock called on Miss Mary Eddy, found Mr Shaw there (A.B.Shaw from Sands & Shaw) spent a very pleasant eve^g there with Miss E. Mrs Burton & Mr S — talked over our jaunt to Florida, Smith Sheldon &c. These ladies appear to think small feet a very necessary & almost indispensable requisite to

beauty (they both have very small feet), quite natural!! At half past eight I left, Mr Shaw remained.

About $\frac{1}{2}$ after nine Smith Sheldon called at the store, he had passed the eve's with Miss Catherine Sharp from Troy who is making a short visit with Mr Gaylor Sheldon, felt in very good spirits and talked as much as usual, he is one of those people who can tell every thing they know in an eve's, and a complete gossip, knows every body, and everybody's affairs. Staid but a few minutes. About ten went to bed.

Jan 6 - 1834

Remarkably cold day. Wrote 7 long business letters. Helen Maria went to Waterford with Cousin Catherine to spend a few days. Intended to have called on Miss Catherine Sharp this eve's, but was prevented as Augustus M. Slingerland took her & Miss Antoinette Schuyler to the theatre — he is very attentive to the latter lady. In the eve's about $\frac{1}{2}$ after nine Smith Sheldon called in again he very much resembles a funnel every thing that goes into him, that is worth mentioning, must come out again. Went to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ after ten.

Jan^y 7 - 1834

Cold weather still continues, with but very little sleighing. About 11 o'clock Smith Sheldon called in the store with Miss Sharp & Miss Antoinette Schuyler, the former lady was dressed in the tip of the fashion & looked very pretty — the latter lady did not look as pretty as I have seen her look, in fact she looked quite ordinary. They called in to look at Ladies' capes. At $\frac{1}{2}$ after 4 took 500 Muskrat skins to mill, and got back by $\frac{1}{4}$ before 6, making $1\frac{1}{4}$ hour to go there, do my business & come back, which considering the state of the roads is fast traveling, took Allan with me.

This day wrote 20 pages in my Journal, and brought it up to this date. This eve's the young men's association opened their rooms and Mr D.D.Barnard delivered the Introductory lecture, this society if well managed will be productive of much good to the young men of Albany. Was unable to attend.

Jan^y 8 1834 Wednesday

At 7 o'clock this m's went to the mill, took breakfast there with Mr Sawyer's family, he has two daughters, very pretty girls. Jacob Ten Eyck is said to be attached to the elder one. Mr S is a very well informed man, owns the grist mill, fulling mill & saw mill on the creek his house & some land in the neighborhood. Brought back the

500 Muskrat skins that I took out last night. At $\frac{1}{2}$ after two went down with 828 H S skins, Jacob Wickham took them with his team, returned to town by 4 o'clock.

In the eve's stopped in for a few minutes at the rooms of the Young mens association, was much pleased. Edwin Forrest made them a present of \$100 — a most liberal act. In the eve's Smith Sheldon called in, wished me to go to Troy tomorrow a week with him to attend a Cotillion party, himself, Mr Shaw, Mr. Tabor (Tabor & Marks) and many other Albanians are going up, declined. $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 retired.

Jan^y 9 to 17th Inclusive

Taken with a severe sore throat which has detained me at home nearly all the time. Allan in the store. Read the Prairie, was very well pleased with it. Characters of Ishmael Bush, Paul Hover & the trapper, well & powerfully drawn.

Jan^y 18 — 1834 — Saturday

Did not leave the house till after 12 o'clock. Very damp, wet & rainy day, snow leaving us. Merely went out to take up note in bank, returned immediately, brought two books from Atheneum Library, Jacqueline of Holland [by Thomas Colley Grattan] & Reginald Dalton [by John Gibson Lockhart]. At Four in the afternoon, went to store and paid the hands off. Henry Bailey had driven the work ahead a good deal during the week, he appears to work very hard. Came home at tea-time and did not go out again. Sore throat no better.

Employed myself in the eve's with Jacqueline of Holland. Mamma endorsed on the back of the basis of settlement between Peter Gansevoort assignee of Allan Melvill deceased and J.G.Nelson & Mr Addams surviving partners of the late firm of Nelson & Addams, her approval of the settlement. Mamma has come out better in this thing than I expected, she will not probably lose over \$2.750 or 3000. Glad that the matter is settled.

Jacqueline of Holland struck me as being a rather flat production however it has some good & forcibly drawn characters, as Ludwick Van Montfoort leader of the Hoeks & Floris Van Borselen head of the Kabblejaw faction, & Oost the dyke digger, all which would be a credit to almost any man. The closing scene in which Philip of Burgundy's life is saved by Vrank Von Borselen is in my opinion the best in the book. His description of the court of Duke Philip, its princely splendor, tournaments, & feasts of arms is good, altho' with

a dash of pedantry when describing arms & warlike accoutrements. The encounter with the Orox or wild bull in the first chapter is true to life.

In order to cure my throat went to bed with Four hot roast potatoes in a woolen stocking, tied around my neck, a clumsy & rather uncomfortable neckcloth, however it did my throat good.

Jan^y 19- 1834 Sunday

For the benefit of my throat staid at home all day. Henry Bailey called up during first church to see me, he certainly appears to feel deep interest in the business. One idea of his struck me as being very good, that was in case of moving the factory across the river to buy a pair of stocks, and have them attached to the flouring mill which lies on the hill behind Greenbush.

Jan^y 20 - Monday

After breakfast altho' my throat was no better I went to the store and employed myself in writing nearly all the day. Many fears are entertained that the river will break up, snow all off the ground, and very warm, damp, unhealthy weather. Water within 6 inches of the level of the pier.

Jan^y 21 - Teuesday

Went out in the m^g but returned very soon, my sore throat being very uncomfortable. It seems to me that a sore throat is about as irritating a thing as can be, and makes a person very cross, & marly, at least it has this effect on me, having been scolding, and complaining the whole day.

Read Reginald Dalton for the first time, was much pleased with it, before giving any opinion on it I shall read it again — have not met with a book in some time which has interested me so much as this — shall read it again with a great deal of attention.

Polly Ellison has been sewing at the house the last two days, is a sensible woman, knows a good deal about the Teunis Van Vechten family, talks considerably. Throat rather easier.

Jan^y 22 Wednesday

After breakfast went to the store, At 12 o'clock got a horse & waggon from Kendall and went to the mill, road very rough & as the weather is very cold, parts of it very dangerous for a horse on account of the water frozen in the road. The late freshet had had the effect to break up the ice in Normans' Kill Creek, and it came

over the dam just above Sawyer's mills, with such tremendous force as to form an embankment of solid ice about 25 feet below the mills, reaching from the bottom of the creek to 6 or 8 feet above the level of the water, and so as to effectually prevent any water from passing down. The water between the embankment of ice & the dam was at least six feet above the level of the water, that was on the other side of the embankment — presenting a very curious spectacle. The water very nearly covered the wheels of the grist mill & fulling mills. Returned by 2 o'clock. Did not go to the store till 4 o'clock. Uncle Herman arrived in town from Northumberland

Spent the eve's in listening to the debates at the Young Men's this afternoon, is in good health.

Association Rooms. The question was "Are representatives bound in the exercise of delegated powers by instructions from their constituents?" The affirmative of this question was maintained by Messrs Thos McMullen (retail dry goods shop keeper) Robert E. Ward of the firm of Murry & Ward, J.J. Hill & Danl. P. Marshall, the negative by Lewis De Witt, Alexander W. Bradford & Messrs. Carmichael & Pruyn. Before proceeding to the debate C. Loveridge Esq^r Presid^t of the Debating Society read a written opinion on the last question, which putting aside one or two instances of forced wit was a performance highly creditable to him.

Mr McMullen opened the debate in the affirmative in a speech entirely destitute of reason argument, sound sense & finished sentences, and the effect of these heightened by a most miserable delivery. Lewis De Witt replied to him in tolerable good style, this gentleman has a good flow of words, but is very much disposed to quibbling, talks too fast and is very easily led from the subject matter. Robert E. Ward replied to the last speaker in a very short speech but which would have not diminished his reputation, had it been shorter. His remarks may be summed up in a few words, he gave the Latin derivation of the word representative (mispronounced the words from which it is derived) said that *Præsento* meant to resemble, and therefore Representatives ought to resemble the wishes of their constituents!!! I regreted much to see Ward make such a total failure, he is an industrious, sensible young man & has the advantage of a good, solid looking countenance, hope that he will either make out better next time, or withdraw his name from the list of active members.

Bradford replied to him, in a speech full of sound argument, and delivered it *well*, was pleased to see it, his were decidedly the best remarks made during the eve's. Marshall replied on the affirmative

in a plain, sensible manner, and gave us the only good speech from the affirmative side that we had, his remarks were rather too political, he said that a man ought to go with his party entirely, and ought to give his vote to no man but the one who would advocate party measures. Carmichael rejoined in a very pretty, well worded speech. J.J.Hill was quite brief, and rather dull, talks fast. Young Pruyn was rather discomposed when he rose, which appeared not from his delivery for not even his embarrassment could divest that from a certain "dont care a damn" manner but from his handling his arguments as well as he would before a less public meeting, and appearing to be afraid to look round the room, however he did well. Lawyer Gaffney & Manchester talked some time — the former gave a regular Stump oration, mob speech, and must be a good & powerful speaker at political meetings.

Met W^m Cassidy & Abr^m Lansing there, had not seen either of them for some time, Bill & myself put our names down on the list of Active Members. The Audience to the debates was large & respectable. Walked home with Aly.

Jan^y 23^d 1834 Thursday

Became acquainted with a young lawyer, or law student by the name of Gvice, was much pleased with him, shall cultivate his acquaintance. Saw Bradford, expressed himself pleased wit[h] my joining the debating society, and said that he would endeavor to have my name down among the Disputants for the next meeting. Heard from Lyon, says that he will be home tomorrow.

Throat being rather worse did not leave the house after dinner, spent a very lazy afternoon. Dr [Platt] Williams came in during the eve'g and prescribed for my throat.

January 24 – 1834 Friday

Staid at home all day. Commenced reading Reginald Dalton a second time. The character given of Reginald before he leaves home, and the manner in which he is situated is true to nature, and almost inimitable in description. I only got thro' about 40 pages when Helen Maria lent it to Aunt Mary Gansevoort, however when she has finished it, I shall continue it.

Jan^y 25 – Saturday

Lyon returned last eve'g, too late to see him. He called up this m'g, he is in good health, and fine spirits, and has made out well. He left his cutter about four miles from Albany on account of the bad

sleighing, in fact there is no snow on the ground and came in bare back on his horse. I think his route will tell next fall. He has been gone about six weeks. His route was from Albany to Greenfield Mass via Sand Lake, Hancock, N Adams, S. Adams, from there to Bennington Vt. Whitehall, Middlebury, Castleton, Burlington & Plattsburgh — Ogdensburg, Lowville, Johnstown, Albany. I purchased his horse & a good waggon & harness for \$120. The horse is a valuable animal and has stood the route well. Lyon drove him with a heavy load 58 miles in one day.

January 26th Sunday

On rising this m^g was glad to see snow, it is wanted very much for our streets have been perfectly bare for 10 or 12 days. Uncle Herman still remains with us, he is a very pleasant man in a family, more so than any man I am acquainted with. The snow storm prevented the female members of the family from going to church — Uncle Herman, Herman and Allan were all that went. My throat continues inflamed.

February 14 1834

At ½ after ten o'clock this m^g started for Schenectady in company with A.W.Bradford — horseback. For Aly I procured a very fine saddle horse of Conover's, and Kendall hired me a fine little sorrel horse belonging to Neare C. Little. The road to Schenectady was very fine. I sent on by rail-road 10 o'clock cars about 100 Mink & 30 fox, 17 Marten skins, which I left with Munsell to sell to E & L. Benedict, as they are giving rather more for Shipping Furs than I can obtain in New York and as money is very scarce with me as well as with others in these times of severe pressure.

Before starting I had very little idea of going further than Schenectady, but as I had debts due me North in Ballston &c. and as Bradford was solicitous to go on I concluded to proceed. We went to Ballston by way of the Mohawk bridge — which is a very strong built bridge, an immense quantity of heavy timber has been used in its construction, a casual observer would think that its weight alone would prevent the ice from breaking it away — on each side it is defended by strong pairs of stone on the upper side formed so as to make a break in the ice divide it, and on the lower as braces. We arrived in Ballston about dark, stopped at the Temperance house kept by McOmber and took tea there. While tea was preparing I went out on business and saw Lockwood & Seymour, received their note for \$150 at 4 mos payable bank of Schenectady, had not

time to call on Reed & Harris & Chapman going through but called on them on my return. A few minutes after seven we mounted to ride to Earll Stimson's Tavern in Galway 11 miles from Ballston and reached there at half after nine, passed through the town of Milton on the way.

The road from Schenectady to Ballston was very muddy, from B. to Galway it was very good going for a saddle horse, and the roads almost impassable every other way, as the snow was too deep for waggoning, and the sleigh tracks were so much worn that it would be difficult for a sleigh to get along, not only on that a/c but as the hills were generally bare. Genl Stimson gave us good beds, but I presume from the unusual exercise I did not sleep well. Rode on horseback this day Forty two miles.

February 15 - 1834 Saturday

Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ after six, and had a fine breakfast, very excellent sausages, pork steaks, good coffee, and appropriate trimmings. Earll Stimson is a man of about Fifty five years of age, and when about eighteen came into the village of Galway as a common wood cutter, and even then he got more wages than any other man at the same business. He laid up money by degrees, and assisted by a spirit of enterprise, and strong practical good sense, has made himself a large property. He now is interested in three stores, is extensively engaged in the Potash manufactory, owns and runs a flouring mill, and barrels all the beef and pork that he can buy up, and besides all this during the summer season keeps about 40 regular boarders, and farms about 300 acres of first rate cultivated land, and this last year received the premium as the best farm in that section of the state. He is a man of no education, and can not even write a letter, and with attending well to all his business, still has leisure time.

After breakfast having concluded to rest our own horses, we had two of the Genl's colts saddled and were going to the Fish house 12 miles on horseback, but on the General's informing us that the snow was very deep, and that a horse would be breaking through constantly, we changed our minds and went in a cutter, for the first $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles we found it exactly as we had been informed, and if we had been on horseback it would have been both unpleasant and dangerous to ourselves, and very distressing to our horses — but after that we had an excellent road, drove over in two hours, called on Amos Hunt who owes me money there and rec^d from him a promise of some money soon. Merely staid there long enough to warm our feet and had two horses saddled, and rode over to Mayfield 4

corners — 10 miles in an hour and seven minutes, this fatigued our horses, called on E. S. Hall there and rec^d promise of money from him, was in Mayfield about 15 minutes, and rode back rather more gently than we came, paid 50 cts each for our horse — Had Stimson's horse put into the cutter at once and drove back to Galway.

The country in the neighborhood of the Fish house appears to be a hard country, very rough and little cultivated, the two last expressions apply equally well to the people. The Sacondago river runs by the Fish house and appears to be a fine stream, some years ago there was a good deal of Fur taken on it. Northrop the hatter there appears to be doing a good business, and is apparently a fine man.

On our return to Stimson's we had our horses immediately saddled and rode over to Saratoga Springs 16 miles that eve'g — stopped at McKinney's tavern, and had a princely supper, and Aly said, and after getting to bed I came to the conclusion that I had eaten about one half more supper than I ought, and drank three more cups of coffee than was proper. McKinney had a fire built in our room, by which we sat and conversed about an hour before retiring, about Lord Byron — riding — selfishness — and matters and things in general. Bradford certainly is a very pleasant companion, and a talented fellow, but has a large share of vanity, which however if it is excusable in any young man of my acquaintance is in him. Slept very well. This day rode 36 miles on horseback, and 24 in a cutter making 60 miles. Rose the next m'g

Feb 16 1834 Sunday

at daybreak and rode over to Ballston to breakfast, while McOmber's family were preparing it, went out and saw W. Y. Need during breakfast I discovered that I had left my watch at Ballston in our bed chamber, and had some difficulty in persuading Alexander to go over with me, we went over on horseback on two fine horses belonging to McOmber, merely stopt at Saratoga long enough to get my watch and immediately returned, was gone two hours. Started for Schenectady at once, and went three miles out of the way, missed the road, most intolerably muddy. Reached Davis's about one o'clock, waited there some time for Munsell and finally learnt that he had gone to Albany, at ½ after Four left Schenectady, and did not reach home till nearly eight, stopped at Kingsley's half way house and cleaned ourselves a little.

About three miles from Albany my horse which was rather tired made a very bad stumble and fell down throwing me over his neck, I fell upon one hand and my feet without injuring myself in the

least, my horse rolled over on his side jumped up and ran away, and had it not been that Aly B- was mounted I probably would have had the pleasure to have walked home, which considering the state of the roads and the lateness of the hour would not have been an enviable job. This day rode Fifty four miles on horseback. Did not sleep well, I presume from excitement, in these three days we traveled 156 miles, 132 on horseback.

Feb 17 - 1834

Henry Bailey taken with a severe cold and confined home. Store affairs had gone on well during my absence. Munsell today gave me the proceeds of the skins I left with him on Friday \$115 — he sold them well. After dinner I mounted my horse and rode down by Cherry Hill to look at the situation of some lots there for a factory, did not find any to suit. Saw the folly of riding a horse without either martingales or whip, you are entirely in the horse's power, and in fact have no control over him.

February 18 - 1834 Monday

This m^g busied myself writing letters & looking over my books. Was glad to be able to pay J. & J.W. Bay & Daniel Fry in full. Henry Bailey continues sick, called to see him, is anxious to have something done at once about a factory. Rode my horse out during the afternoon was gone about 15 minutes he stumbles badly.

Called on A.W. Bradford in the eve^g sat with him about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour, conversed about our jaunt into the country De Lancy Kane &c the last named gentleman has had the honor of being noticed by the Microscope regularly for the last three weeks. At $\frac{1}{2}$ after eight came home, brought up my Journal, and conversed with Uncle Herman about putting up a factory, he gave me some good advice, which if possible I shall follow.

February 27 Thursday 1834

I have got into a bad habit lately of sleeping late m^gs. Must correct myself of it. After dinner put my horse in the waggon and took 302 H.S. skins to Mill, the roads are very rough & bad, but were much worse 3 or 4 days since, for the late cold weather & frost have frozen the mud &c and as there are a great many wheeled carriages constantly passing the road in some places was well beat down — Went and returned in about two hours. My horse looks much better than when I kept him at a Livery stable and by keeping him myself I save about 6/- per week.

Timothy Lasell from Schoharie Court House came in town to

day, he appears to be a fine young man, has a good personal appearance, dresses very well, and attends well to business — is a good customer.

At 8 o'clock Alex. W. Bradford and myself went to the Menagerie and were very agreeably entertained. I noticed particularly the very easy, quick trot of the one humped camel. A perfectly White Raccoon taken in South Carolina. The Tiger cat or Hunting leopard that the Asiatic princes carry on their saddles when hunting, a most beautiful animal. They had a gigantic saddle for the male elephant which would comfortably accomodate six persons, my friend & self got on it, the elephant kneels down to receive its load, and has a very pleasant gait a kind of long walk. In ancient times they must have been a terrible weapon in the hands of an army, by giving loose rein to Imagination I could almost fancy to myself the army of Pyrrhus King of Epirus when he invaded the Roman Territory, what an awful, fear inspiring sight to see 100 Elephants drawn up in line, each carrying 5 or 6 armed men on his back, and ready to tread down, fairly by mere animal weight to crush the opposing ranks of Roman citizens. It is not strange that when the Romans first saw these huge masses of animated clay, drawn up in battle line against them, that they experienced fear — nor is it strange that they, the elephants, turned the scale of victory in favor of their daring, gallant leader. They feed the elephants hay entirely. The Polar bear experienced the pleasurable feelings arising from the unintermitted discharge for two hours of a stream of cold water about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter. This I presume is done to keep his coat white, as I presume his majesty would not tolerate the exercise of a brush & manual labor on it.

After leaving the Menagerie Alexander came to my mother's and remained till $\frac{1}{2}$ after 11 o'clock. He strongly advised me to take up a course of reading, evenings after I come home Kent's Commentaries, & Blackstone.

February 28 - 1834 Friday

Nothing worthy of much notice happened. Went to [Philip] Hooker, Architect and gave directions for plan of building for factory, he is to draw a plan & specification — was to have left it at the store by 6 o'clock but failed in doing so. Had a false alarm of fire this eve'g.

March 1 - 1834 Saturday

This m'g after breakfast had my horse put in harness and took

Aly Bradford down to defend the suit of Bradt vs me, but we felt rather non-plussed when we were told by Justice Holliday that the cause did not come on till 2 o'clock. Bradt out of ugliness made the summons returnable at the Justices Court for Bethlehem which is at the very south end of S. Pearl street and I beleive the last house of the Southern suburbs of the city. Bradford went down to mill with me, roads quite bad, brought back 235 Hair seal skins. In order to attend at 2 o'clock I had dinner at 1 — and immediately after dinner drove down there with Bradford. Bradt however had the suit adjourned, his witness being unable to attend. Henry Bailey & myself then went to look at some lots lying on Buttermilk creek were much pleased with them, and we made up our minds, if we can get the lots we want to secure them at once.

Dr Sweet this eve'g performed an operation on Helen Maria's leg, by putting the hip in joint, and the ancle bones in order. She has been lame as long as I can recollect, not being able to get one of her heels within 2 inches of the ground. I am in hopes that it will have the desired effect. Immediately after the operation a good effect was to be seen, she being able to get her heel closer to the floor — but great care & assiduity on her part are necessary to effect a cure.

Mrs & Miss Frances Watson, sister & neice to Miss Sedgwick spent the eve'g with us, they are both well informed & very conversible. The mother is one of those who having very few cares at home, employs herself almost constantly in alleviating the distresses of others, and is the great originator of the present "Albany Female benevolent society." The daughter tho' rather plain in her personal appearance, is a very well informed young lady, and converses remarkably well for one of the weaker sex, Staid from ½ after six till 11 o'clock.

March 2 — Sunday

Did not rise till 9 o'clock, going on the principle that Sunday is a day of rest, an[d] carrying this principle into still further practice, did not attend church this day.

Commenced a work called "Watts on the Improvement of the Mind" which I am determined to make myself well acquainted with. I read a very few pages, and from them will make two extracts, which are very true — "That which should always be practised, must at some time be learnt" "It is the duty and interest of every person to improve his understanding, to treasure up useful knowledge, to inform his judgment, and to acquire the skill of good

reasoning." We generally are very loth to learn that which we ought to practice; — and we ought to endeavor to make the performance of our duty, a pleasure, if we acted up to the latter, there would be no occasion for the former observation. Very few men endeavor determinedly to treasure up useful knowledge; fewer still to rightly inform and strengthen their judgment; still fewer to cultivate & improve their understanding, and to bring it as near perfection as may be, and how very few men are good logical reasoners? — Application persevered if in will do all this, and it is in every person's power with great application to attain all these ends — and let us for [a] moment consider the advantages which a highly cultivated understanding, the possession of extensive stores of useful knowledge an unerring judgment, and the power of clear, strong & conclusive reasoning will give a man; it will raise him above his fellows, it will make him their leader, in a word it will give him power — and with some minds the possession of power is in fact the possession of happiness.

Leonard Van Vechten called in this eve'g has been at Whitehall for some weeks, the country air has evidently altered his appearance for the better. River has been open & steamboats running for Four or Five days.

Monday March 3^d 1834

Was in attendance on the Circuit Court Judge Vanderpool presiding nearly the whole of the day — as witness in a case pending between my mother & Daniel Sparks & Jno. R. Eddy of New York constituting the firm of Daniel Sparks & Co. Uncle Peter attorney for my mother & Dutcher & Harris for the defendants. The suit was brought to recover against the defendants the sum of \$124.98 being the amount of a note which the plaintiff through me took on a/c from Jno. R. Eddy and which note at maturity was protested and has since remained unpaid. The note was endorsed by Daniel Sparks & Co., and by Jno. R. Eddy individually. The note was dated Sept 14 1832 & the partnership of Daniel Sparks & Co was dissolved on Oct 1st following. The grounds of defence were that the note was endorsed in the name of the former firm by Eddy after the dissolution to render it negotiable, and therefore his former partner was not bound by it. But as it was proved by me that when Eddy offered me the note, the endorsership of D.S. & Co. was upon it, & that Eddy endorsed the note to me individually, & as neither Eddy or any other person told me that the note was so endorsed, the fair presumption was that the note was endorsed by D.S. & Co at

its date and before the dissolution of the firm, and so my mother recovered. Salem Dutcher made out poorly.

March 4 - 1834 Teusday

After dinner went to the mill. Called for Aly Bradford and he accompanied me. A most delightful afternoon. The air & sky like June, and I wish I could say with truth that the roads were the same, but they were most intolerable. The toll gate on the bridge is thrown open in consequence of the state of the roads.

March 5 - 1834 - Wednesday

Immediately after breakfast went to mill, and returned about $\frac{1}{2}$ after 11 o'clock, as soon as my horse was put out, I heard the Cry of Fire! And on going to find it found it was Mr Steele's [paper-hanging] work-shop directly behind his store on S. Market st was the scene of conflagration, it was entirely consumed without any damage to the neighboring buildings. Rode my horse out for a short time this afternoon with a new trotting bridle that Mason has made for me, he went very well. This eve's we had another fire opposite the Jail, it originated in a stable which was burnt to the ground without doing further injury. Making 5 fires in as many days.

Shut up at eight o'clock and stopped in at the Debating Society. Heard Loveridge speak — poorly— Manchester d[itt]o but worse. Kearny looking glass manufacturer — well— Percy indifferent — Brown, scandalous. The question was, Have the crusades been beneficial to mankind in a moral or intellectual point of view? and I have never heard a question more miserably argued.

March 6th 1834 Thursday

Went to mill and brought back the last of my Hair Seal skins about 325 — making 4.502 H.S. skins that I have had fulled this winter. The road was very severe for my horse, and I experienced great difficulty in getting up the long hill after I crossed the bridge. This eve's wrote to Hicks.

March 7 - 1834 Friday

This m'g had a note to take up of \$215.40/100 in favor of Gault Biglow & Co and \$375 borrowed money to pay Sheldon, Slingerland & Co. — and not a dollar to do it with; had not Uncle Peter raised Six hundred dollars for me from the bank, I could not have stood through the day. Dutcher & Harris in my mother's case against Daniel Sparks & Co & Jno. R. Eddy which was decided in her favor

in the Circuit Court made out a bill of exceptions, and intend to carry it up to the Supreme Court. I think (that unless they do it merely for the sake of the costs) that it is a very foolish thing, as they can not avoid being beaten.

This afternoon at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 3 o'clock started for Schenectady (to see Hiram Haight) on horseback, accompanied by Aly Bradford he on Conover's poney, & I on my own horse. We went over in two hours, the road being very fine. Did not find Haight at first. Called on E and L Benedict they have a large lot of Shipping fur. Munsell invited us to take tea with him at Topping's tavern where he boards, very good house, the collegians come here to have their suppers very often, it is said that he has the best wines of any tavern keeper in Schenectady. I ate a very hearty supper, too much for my own good, as will soon be seen.

Finished my business about $\frac{1}{2}$ after 8 — and by that time I had such a painful stomach ache that I endeavored to get Bradford to stay at Davis' over night, but he would not consent to this, as his mother did not know of his being out of Albany, and we ordered our horses up. I was very much surprised to meet brother Herman in the bar-room at Davis' in company with Frederick Leake, and at first could not imagine the reason of his being there, but on reflection saw that the bank must have sent them over, on enquiry I found my opinion confirmed. They came over in the afternoon car and were unable to return that eve'g there being no cars.

It was a very cold eve'g, very dark, we were entirely dependent on star light to see the road, and to add to all this we had a hard East wind in our faces the whole of the distance which sometimes threatened to blow us back to where we started from, and as if the fates were determined to make our ride the very quintessence of pleasure, my stomach ache, accompanied by sundry gripes was so very severe that it was all but impossible for me to take my horse off a walk. It took us 3 hours to come over. We got here at 12 o'clock, very nearly frozen, and to add to the peculiar pleasures of our ride had to put our own horses out, (Aly's in my stable) one stall only being used, the other was lumbered up with an old cutter & various other trash, which after 40 minutes incessant labor we succeeded in removing, & crept off to our respective homes 3 parts benumbed.

March 8 – Saturday

It was lucky that we left Davis's last night, as it rained very hard till 11 this m'g, which would have detained us there till then

and made the roads very muddy. Took Conover's horse home at 12 o'clock. Found out that Ab^m G Lansing owns the property on Buttermilk creek that H. Bailey and myself were looking at, called on Christopher Y. Lansing his agent and he made an appointment to accompany me there Monday m's before breakfast.

Called on Aly this eve's and made him a present of his horse hire on our trips to Ballston &c. and yesterdays ride to Schenectady. He behaved very well yesterday in walking his horse back from there solely on my a/c and when it must have been very much against his own inclinations.

March 9 – Sunday

This m's before breakfast rode out Collier's horse which I forgot to mention I brought down from Troy yesterday, took him 1½ miles on the Shaker road and then to the gate on the Troy road, he is a very fine saddle horse. After breakfasting went to the stable, fed, watered & cleaned both horses — came home, washed & dressed for church, heard Dr Ludlow, called on Uncle Peter returning. Towards eve's called on Aunt Mary & Leonard.

March 23^d Sunday

Attended church in the m's with Mamma, heard Dr Ludlow. After dinner took what shipping furs I had in the store in a one horse waggon over to Schenectady. Started at ½ after 2 and got back at ½ after 7 — left them with W.W.Munsell to sell tomorrow to E & L Benedict.

March 24 Monday

On last Saturday I learnt that Le Grand Patterson of N. Adams Berkshire Co. Mass — had failed, and this m's made all possible haste in my business, and succeeded in making all the necessary arrangements for my departure & absence. The most unpleasant thing I had to do was to get Hochstrasser, Denison & Guest to renew \$400 of my note for \$446 36/100 which will fall due on the 26th inst at the Mechanics & Farmers bank. They were very unwilling to do it having as they said as much to pay themselves as they could possibly stagger under, and also having on Saturday been obliged to renew 3 notes of other persons payable to them. The only way that I finally made them do it was this, I said that if they did not renew it, it would have to be protested, and it was surely better for them to renew \$400. of the note, than to have it come back on them for the whole amount — (they had had it discounted).

They consented but with a most miserable grace.

Times still continue very hard. After arranging my business and when I was all ready to go, the thought struck me that it would be very pleasant for me, and no doubt agre[e]able to A. W. Bradford if we would go in Company, or to express myself more plainly if I could persuade him to accompany me. At first he positively declined going, on pressing him for his reasons he owned that they were entirely of a pecuniary nature. I then offered to pay all expenses, and he consented to go, making this proviso to my offer, that I should let him know his share of the expenses and allow him to return the amount to me.

I then went to Conover's and got his poney Dandy for Bradford, and rode myself the horse that a short time since I purchased from A. and J. Y. Morgan & Co of Franklinsville Cattaraugus Co N Y. It was one P.M. when we started, a very fine day, crossed the river at the Bath ferry, and rode on to the Sand Lake house kept by Gregory where we dined — poor dinner — we then continued on thro' Alp's village Hancock, Stephentown, to Lanesboro' first village where we stopped for the night — making 33 miles this afternoon. A good part of the distance we rode by moonlight, and passed three most delightful hours in this manner. About 6 o'clock it began to snow lightly and continued till m'g.

(End of fragment)

GANSEVOORT'S fear of fire was amply justified, for on May 6 of this year his store, embodying all Melville hopes burned, at a loss (over and above the insurance) of no less than \$2000. — a full-scale disaster in their financial state. Within three years Gansevoort admitted complete defeat, threw up his hands in bankruptcy, and tried something else when he recovered from his subsequent nervous collapse.

At the Albany Female Academy his sister Augusta submitted a composition that placed a tombstone over the easy life and hopes her family had once enjoyed:

"Childhood is the happiest stage of our existence it is then if ever, that the cup of pleasure is sweet, then it is unpoisoned by sin and sorrow, and we may freely drink the draught unembittered with the thoughts and anxieties for the future."

Henry James's Last Novel

By EDWARD STONE

THE question of the source of Henry James's *Sense of the Past*, 1917, has aroused more speculation than the significance of the story itself.¹ Yet a study of this posthumous phantasy — and especially, of the copious, lucid notes left for its completion — suggests that it is as valuable an autobiographical commentary as any of the elaborate prefaces which James added to the selective edition of his works some ten years before.

The difficulty of interpreting this novel arises from the fact that, although James had been writing it all of his life, the esthetic import of its outcome was unprecedented in the half-century of his literary efforts.

If Ralph Pendrel, the hero of the novel, was the first of James's voyagers to plant his flag into and explore the shores of the past, he was by no means the first to sight them. As far back as 1871 Clement Searle, the "Passionate Pilgrim," had pathetically hammered his fists against the door of Time barring him from Lackley Park in Sir Joshua Reynolds's day. To Frank Granger in 1902 any further relationship with his fiancée was out of the question after his "backward hunt" had taken him to Flickerbridge, where "he had been floated . . . out of the rushing stream into [the] clear still backwater" of the eighteenth century. And Spencer Brydon's "'unnatural' anxiety" of 1908 had arisen from his re-entrance into the ancestral home on that anything-but-"Jolly Corner" with its "annals of nearly three generations . . . and the impalpable ashes of his long-extinct youth, afloat in the very air like microscopic motes."²

James had begun writing *The Sense of the Past* in 1900, in response to Howells's request for an "international ghost story." As such, the novel might have emerged as merely a more elaborate "Jolly Corner." But once its 50,000-word bounds had been exceeded, something more than James's skill at ghost-story writing had been called into play: when the author took up the discarded manuscript in the winter of 1914, its original

"damned difficulty" was forgotten, and his first sketch began to expand to his renewed fascination into a novel whose hero's enchantment by the past even Spencer Brydon's "compromising *malaise*" could not reach and whose scope of action was to be "so much more ample."³

By that James was referring to the wide prospect of Pendrel's *relations* with the people of the past. Unlike Searle or Granger or Brydon of the shorter pieces, Pendrel, once he had reached his journey's end, would not die or disappear or recover; while still maintaining his ghost-like identity, he would be called upon to manage his full-length rôle of traveller in Time just as credibly as Christopher Newman and Lambert Strether had managed theirs as travellers in Space. For Pendrel was not only endowed with a "desire to remount the stream of time," but was to be the first "really to bathe in its upper and more natural waters, to risk even . . . drinking of them."

To Pendrel, in fine, was at last granted the magic gift of association with the people of Byron's day. This, the author of "The Aspern Papers" insisted, was the Past *sine qua non*. This was the "palpable imaginable *visible* past" —

a world we may reach over to as by making a long arm we grasp an object at the other end of our own table. The table is the one, the common expanse, and where we lean, so stretching, we find it firm and continuous. That . . . is the past fragrant of all, or of almost all, the poetry of the thing outlived and lost and gone, and yet in which the precious element of closeness, telling so of connexions but tasting so of differences, remains appreciable. With more moves back the element of the appreciable shrinks — just as the charm of looking over a garden-wall into another garden breaks down when successions of walls appear. The other gardens, those still beyond, may be there, but . . . the view is mainly a view of barriers.⁴

Once placed in the midst of such a period, Pendrel may have been expected to commit blunders which arouse suspicion and which therefore upset his peace of mind. But is one to attribute to this alone the anguish, practically the revulsion, that comes over him after his arrival at No. 9 Mansfield Square in the year 1820? For the *malaise* responsible for his attitude toward his own age now appears trivial compared with the feeling of *horror* he begins to experience as it dawns on him that he may not be able to return from his "excursion," as he begins to feel "im-

mersed and shut in, lost and damned . . . beyond all rescue." James's original sketch had pointed an important difference. In fact, as he had bluntly asked himself at the time,

What was at the basis . . . of almost the prime beauty of the idea of the *S. of the P.* but the fancy of the *revealed* effect of "terror," the fact that the young man had himself become a source of it — or, to speak more lucidly — the fact of the consciousness of it as given, not *received*, on the part of the central, sentient, person of the story?⁵

Of whatever terror James originally foresaw, in short, his central character was to have been the *cause*, not the recipient. How is one to account for the transference?

TWO clues should be kept in mind. One is that James had never held to any view of the sanctity of the Past as Past. To him there were very real limits to the backward reach of the historic sense: beyond them began the "successions of walls," the view "mainly . . . of barriers." Even the late eighteenth-century was unutterably beyond any possible esthetic communication, "divided from us by an impassable gulf," impossible to imagine as "a kind of golden age of 'society,'" and provocative as much of repugnance as of curiosity. For all that its velvets and brocades were "admirable," even forty years before James had thought them "worn with rather too bold a confidence in their intrinsic merit"; he had pointed out that there were "few things less attractive than soiled satin and tarnished embroidery"; with equal insight he had gathered "an uneasy impression of moral cynicism," commenting that various phrases overheard "make us wonder whither our steps have strayed."⁶ James's distinction between Imagination and Fancy was positive. For him there was a place in Time where the one left off and the other began; and his own almost ineffable sense of the Past could put a finger on the place.

The other clue is the profound shock which the outbreak of the War induced in James. The day before Germany declared war on Russia, he wrote:

What one first feels one's self uttering, no doubt, is but the intense unthinkability of any thing so blank and so infamous in an age that we have been living in and taking for our own as if it were of a high

refinement of civilisation . . .; finding it after all carrying this abomination in its blood, finding this to have been what it *meant* all the while, is like suddenly having to recognise in one's family circle or group of best friends a band of murderers, swindlers and villains . . .

England's entry into the War found him reiterating his bewilderment:

The plunge of civilization into this abyss of blood and darkness by the wanton feat of those two infamous autocrats is a thing that so gives away the whole long age during which we have supposed the world to be, with whatever abatement, gradually bettering, that to have to take it all now for what the treacherous years were all the while really making for and *meaning* is too tragic for any words.⁷

Considering that James had singled out the "visitable past" of 1820 for homage, one can understand why in the winter of 1914, as Percy Lubbock suggests, he could no longer believe in a modern fiction, *The Ivory Tower*, "supposed to represent the life of the day"; why, accordingly, he took up *The Sense of the Past* again, "a phantasmal story" whose unreality was "now remote enough to be beyond the reach of the war."⁸ But if only an exceedingly fine historic sense could have foreseen Pendrel's discomfort in the adored past, what prodigy of self-delusion could have prompted James in that winter of 1914 to imagine his hero as suffering from "his unspeakable homesickness for his own time and place"? The very fact that Pendrel was to have told Nan Midmore (the only lovable character in the Past) of "how poor a world she is stuck fast in compared with all the wonders and splendours that he is straining back to, and of which he now sees only the ripeness, richness, attraction and civilisation, the virtual perfection without a flaw" at the very time when his creator was acquiring poignant evidence of that "civilisation," that "virtual perfection" in his visits to the wounded and refugees of the most devastating war in history — is an enigma whose solution is essential to a clear understanding of Henry James's final position.

THE explanation may be that at the age of seventy James abjured his reverence for the Past and acknowledged that his indifference to his age — the irresponsibility of his estheticism —

was in some way accountable for the cataclysm. Certainly his letters of the time bear out his feeling of remorse as much as does Pendrel's projected renunciation of the Past. Neither James nor Pendrel, that is, had been aware of the blessings they had been enjoying all along: it had taken the sudden retraction and destruction of these blessings to shock them into appreciation. For once, then, the vista of "dim historic shades, of the faint far-away cannon-roar of the great Empire" assumed a contemporary significance for the author of *The Ambassadors*, himself now actively contributing to England's war effort. James had to come out of the Past, and make amends for his remissness. If so, there is a prophetic pertinence in the words of Lambert Strether as he belatedly attempted to pay for his feast of Old Time by encouraging Bilham to marry Mamie: "I want to have been at least to that extent constructive — even expiatory. I've been sacrificing so to strange gods that I feel I want to put on record, somehow, my fidelity — fundamentally unchanged, after all — to our own."⁹

But whatever of logic there is in such an interpretation, there is no great provision in it for human nature. It is much more likely that James did not suddenly exorcise his life-long devotion to the Past in 1914 so much as he *extended the boundaries of the Past forward in time* — or, better, as he saw those boundaries involuntarily extended for him. In a contemporary reminiscence he could recall an attack of typhus suffered during boyhood as an experience which

I was to regard . . . as the marked limit of my state of being a small boy. I took on, when I had decently . . . recovered, the sense of being a boy of other dimensions somehow altogether, and even with a new dimension introduced and acquired; a dimension that I was eventually to think of as a stretch in the direction of essential change or of living straight into a part of myself previously quite unvisited and now made accessible as by the sharp forcing of a closed door.¹⁰

May not the impact of the War be said to have stimulated in James this very feeling of a dimension added to his own Time? To the extent that the years of his life and the civilization whose blessings he had enjoyed were now sealed off forever, his un-failing historic sense must have realized that those years and

that civilization *were now themselves the Past* — that “imaginable visitable past” just within his furthest reach; and that the finality of the War was sufficient to relegate the Midmores and their contemporaries to what he could now speak of as the “impenetrable rococo” of the Napoleonic era.¹¹

To note, therefore, that Henry James asserted his allegiance to his own times both fictionally and personally is not of necessity to infer that he underwent any change in his fundamental fidelity to the Past. The *alter ego* in *The Sense of the Past*, we recall, was to have reached his destination in the Future just as Pendrel arrived at the Past. Perhaps as the lights went out all over Europe James saw that the 1820 gentleman would have found that Future the inheritor of all the ages, at the same time that the Pendrel of 1914 was wishing to scurry back from a period in front of which Time had precipitately raised its final, forbidding barrier.

Notes

The writer wishes to express his thanks to Professor Paul F. Baum of Duke University for his valuable suggestions.

1. For sources, cf. F. W. Dupee, editor, *The Question of Henry James*, New York 1945, 115; Stephen Spender, *The Destructive Element*, Boston 1936, 105; and Margaret Newbolt, *The Later Life and Letters of Sir Henry Newbolt*, London 1942, 42-4.

For commentary, cf. Percy Lubbock's below. Yvor Winters has termed *The Sense of the Past* “the most extraordinary plunge into pure incoherence which James ever made.” (*Maule's Curse*, Norfolk, Conn. 1938.)

2. XVII, 445; XVIII, 449. (Volume references are to the New York Edition.)

3. Percy Lubbock, editor; *The Letters of Henry James*, New York 1920, I, 351-2; F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth Murdock, editors, *The Notebooks of Henry James*, New York 1947, 364.

4. XII, Preface, x.

5. *Notebooks*, 300, 367; also, XXVI, 294.

6. *Galaxy*, XX, (October, 1875), 539-40; XXI, (April, 1876), 549.

7. *Letters*, II, 376, 384.

8. XXV, Preface, v; XXVI, Preface, n.p.; *Letters*, II, 380.

9. XXII, 125, 167-8.

10. *A Small Boy and Others*, New York 1913, 398.

11. Introduction to Rupert Brooke, *Letters from America*, New York 1916.

The Correspondence of R. W. Griswold

This is the twelfth installment of the descriptive catalogue of the Library's Griswold Collection — of the correspondence of Rufus Wilmot Griswold, critic, poet, and anthologist, and editor of *Graham's Magazine* from 1842-1843. Earlier portions appeared in *More Books* for March, April, May, and June 1941, February and September 1943, and in the July and October 1949 and the January, April, and July 1950 issues of *The B.P.L. Quarterly*.

SEWARD, Mary L. (Mumford). A.L.S. To Frances Sargent (Locke) Osgood. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 23, 1846.

[New York.] Describes a visit to her sister, Angelina, and a literary evening at Miss Lynch's. Gives news of Mrs. Hewitt, [Nathaniel P.] Willis, Mrs. Ellet, Miss Fuller, and the Poes. The Poes are extremely poor.

Printed in part in *Gris. Corr.*, p. 213.

Seward, William Henry, 1801-1872. A.L.S. To Horace Greeley. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Oct. 1, 1847.

[Auburn, (N. Y.)] Offers to negotiate confidentially to prevent Greeley's libel suit against Redfield and Pringle.

— A.N.S. To Horace Greeley. 1 p. 7 x 5 in. Feb. 15, 1850.

[Washington.] Thanks Greeley for "suggestions."

Shreve, Thomas H., 1808-1853. A.L.S. To William D. Gallagher. 4 pp. 11 x 8 in. Mar. 11, 1852.

[Louisville, (Ky.)] Denies writing the attack on Griswold in the *Journal*, and is annoyed that Gallagher attributed it to him. Resents [Gamaliel?] Bailey's failure to notice his book, *Drayton* shortly after its publication.

Signed with initials. Shreve's *Drayton* was published in 1851.

— See also Gallagher, William Davis.

Sigourney, Lydia Howard (Huntley), 1791-1865. A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Apr. 23, 1836.

[Hartford, Conn.] Thanks Poe for his letter of the 12th, sent with the January number of the *Southern Literary Messenger*. Protests against Poe's charge that she imitates Mrs. Hemans.

Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 33-35.

— A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 11, 1836.

[Hartford.] Assures him of her good will. Is impressed by Poe's favorable review of [Grenville] Mellen's poems. Sends a poem of her own, "Death cometh to the chamber of the sick," for the *Messenger*. Asks for surplus copies of her *Letters to Young Ladies* to supply the demand in Hartford and New York.

Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 37-38. The review of Grenville Mellen's

The Martyr's Triumph; Buried Valley and Other Poems, Boston, 1833, appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for May, 1836, pp. 402-404, but was not written by Poe. "Death cometh" was published as "The Ruler's Faith" in the *Messenger* for August, 1836, p. 525. *Letters to Young Ladies* first appeared in 1833.

- A.L.S. To George R. Graham. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Dec. 20, 1842.

[Hartford.] Thanks Graham for giving her numbers of his *Magazine* and for copies of an engraving. Comments on the excellence of *Graham's Magazine*; would like to become a regular contributor.

- A.L.S. To George R. Graham. 2 pp. 9 x 8 in. Nov. 13, 1844.

[Hartford.] Regrets that her poem "The Stockbridge Bowl" was printed in [the October 1844 issue of] *Graham's Magazine* without her knowledge; in its stead she will supply another. Praises engraving of Mrs. [Ann Sophia] Stephens, which appears in the November issue. Regrets "political disappointment."

"The Stockbridge Bowl" appeared in *Scenes from My Native Land*, 1845, pp. 200-201. In November 1844, James K. Polk defeated Henry Clay for the presidency of the U. S.

- A.L. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 8 x 5 in. Dec. 29, 1848.

[Hartford.] Thanks him for sending her pages from his forthcoming work; calls attention to typographical errors in "Napoleon's Epitaph," "The Mother of Washington," "The Indian Girl's Burial," and "Indian Names."

Written in the third person. The first edition of Griswold's *Female Poets of America* appeared in 1849, and contained the four poems mentioned.

- See also Greeley, Horace.

- Simms, William Gilmore, 1806-1870. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Oct. 21, [1842?].

[Charleston, (S.C.)] Thanks Griswold for sending him a copy of *English Poets*. Hopes to receive a copy of the *Works of Milton*. Will comment editorially on it.

- A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Jan. 16, 1846.

[Midway, S. C.] Sends Griswold the promised "order." The "collection" [not explained] is a valuable one in natural history and the arts. Sends a copy of the *Sonnets*.

Text complete, but one half of page 1 which contained the "order" has been cut off. Simms's *Grouped Thoughts and Scattered Fancies: Sonnets*, was published in 1845.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 5 pp. 10 x 8 in. July 30, 1846.

[New York.] Encourages Poe, giving him moral advice about literary quarrels and his choice of friends.

Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 259-262.

- L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 50 pp. 10 x 8 in. 25 mounts. Dec. 1846.

[Woodlands, (S. C.)] A survey of the writer's works, with descriptions of many, with quotations from contemporary reviews, including one in Poe's *Literary Messenger*.

Gris. Corr., pp. 80-86. Written in an unknown hand.

- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. July 15, [1847?].
 [Charleston, (S. C.)] Describes the writer's studies on the careers of Generals [Isaac] Huger, [Andrew] Pickens, and other Southern generals [for *Washington and His Generals?*]. States he has forwarded a biography of [General] Charles Lee to the publishers, and has sent Frederick Saunders the proofs of *Bayard* [*The Life of Chevalier Bayard*, 1847] with a dedication.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. May 29.
 [New York.] States that the writer's article on [General Nathaniel] Greene is ready.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 9 x 8 in. Dec. 21, [1847].
 [Woodlands, (S. C.)] Asks if the *Independent Chronicle*, published in 1785, can be seen in Philadelphia, and if the matter relating to Colonel John Laurens of South Carolina, which appears in its columns, is worth transcribing.
- A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 4 x 7 in. June 24, N.y.
 [N.p.] Requesting that material for the writer's memoir of [General Charles] Lee be sent soon.
- Skinner, J. S.** A.L.S. To——. 2 pp. 10 x 6 in. N.d.
 [Gordon's, "135 miles en route from Savannah."] Requests a set of questions to put to one rice and cotton planter in order "to draw out from them the whole economy of a plantation as respects their slaves," for the purpose of comparing the condition of the slaves with those of English laborers.
- Smith, Caroline Oakes (Prince), 1806-1893.** A.L. To Miss [Caroline?] May. 4 pp. 11 x 7 in. N.d.
 [N.p.] Autobiographical sketch [for *Female Poets of America*, 1849?]. Fragment.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. [1849].
 [N.p.] Deeply regrets [Charles Fenno] Hoffman's madness, and her own possible connection with it. Asks Griswold to visit him and inform her on his condition.
- See also Neal, John.
- Smith, Erasmus Peshine.** See Carey, Henry Charles.
- Smith, Seba.** See Hoffman, Charles Fenno.
- Snelling, William Joseph, 1804-1848.** A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Sept. 24, 1841.
 [60 W. Broadway, (N. Y.)] Promises to give his autobiography *viva voce*. Complains that his poem "Osceola" was garbled by the Dublin University Press. Offers another poem for a consideration.
- Snodgrass, Augustus, pseud.** See Hubbard, Th.
- Soden, S. S.** A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 13, 1842.
 [Boston.] Offers Griswold the editorship of the [*Boston*] *Miscellany*, and inquires about terms.
Gris. Corr., pp. 112-113.

- A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. July 5, 1842.
[Boston.] Again offers Griswold the editorship of *The Boston Miscellany*.
- Southern, Edward.** A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 13 x 8 in. Mar. 4, 1845.
[Jamaica, Va.] Sends a "poetical manuscript" for publication and includes other specimens of his verse; offers a projected new edition of [Lindley] Murray's *Grammar*.
- Southron, A., pseud.** See P., A. Southron.
- Southworth, Emma Dorothy Eliza (Nevitte), 1819-1899.** A.D.S. 13 cols. 11 x 4 in. N.d.
Manuscript story for the *National Era*, "The Thunderbolt to The Hearth." Incomplete. 7 mounts.
- Sparks, Jared, 1789-1866.** A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 7 in. Aug. 5, 1846.
[Salem.] Sends an "engraved head," also the first number of an illustrated *Life of Washington* containing "the best engraving from Stuart's Washington that has ever been executed."
- Speer, F. J.** A.D.S. 2 pp. 13 x 8 in. N.d.
Ms. poem, "On the Death of Capt. Ralph Voorhees, U.S.N."
Following the poem is a note requesting publication of it in the *Magazine* [Graham's?].
- Spencer, John Canfield.** See Dana, Charles Anderson.
- Sprague, Charles James, 1823-?** A.D.S. 4 pp. 9 x 8 in. Feb. 16, [1843?].
Ms. poem: "Truth."
Signed "Fitz-Charles." On p. 4 is a note from E. A. Brackett to R. W. Griswold, Printed in *Graham's Magazine* for December, 1843.
- See also Brackett, Edward Augustus; Fields, James Frederick.
- Sprague, William Buell, 1795-1876.** A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 9 x 7 in. Nov. 24, 1848.
[Albany, (N. Y.)] Promises a sermon in response to Griswold's request and biographical information, if it must be given.
- Stansbury, E. A., d. 1873.** A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 13 x 8 in. Jan. 12, 1839.
[Richmond, (Vt.)] Asks about the printer whom Griswold promised to secure for him, and the reason for Griswold's "back hand thrust" at N. P. Willis.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. May 15, 1839.
[Richmond, (Vt.)] Comments on a slander on Griswold in the *Middlebury Argus*. Inquires why the "Vermont plan" has been abandoned. Discusses Griswold's "Tory" enemies.
Gris. Corr., p. 27.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 11 x 8 in. May 11, 1849.
[Burlington, Vt.] Sends a eulogy and description of John Godfrey Saxe (1816-1887) for the new edition of *Poets of America*.

Starkey, Digby P. A.L.S. To Wiley and Putnam. 3 pp. 7 x 3 in.
Apr. 13, 1847.

[Dublin, (Ireland.)] Asks whether a poem by W. George Hill, "The Fall of the Oak," included in Griswold's *Poets of America*, 1842, had been published previously.

Stebbins, Mary Elizabeth (Moore) Hewitt, 1818-? A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 2 pp. 7 x 5 in. Mar. 15, 1845.

[Athenaeum Hotel, (N. Y.)] Comments on the "remarkable coincidence" between the publication of Poe's "Raven" and a poem of her own about a white bird ["Tale of Luzon"?]. Sends her poem at Poe's request.

— A.N. To Edgar A. Poe. 1 p. 7 x 5 in. Mar. 21, 1845.

[Athenaeum Hotel, (N. Y.)] Authorizes Poe to print her poem "A Tale of Luzon."

The poem was published in the *Broadway Journal* for March 22, 1845, p. 186.

— A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. Nov. 10, [1845?].

[Athenaeum Hotel, (N. Y.)] Thanks Poe for his favorable notice of her volume [*Songs of Our Land?*] in the *Broadway Journal*. Encloses "a little song" for the *Journal*.

— A.N.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 1 p. 7 x 5 in. Dec. 22, 1845.

[N.p.] Encloses a sonnet for the *Broadway Journal*.

— A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 1 p. 7 x 4 in. May 29, [1845?].

[Athenaeum Hotel, (N. Y.)] Sends a translation from the French of Madame [Anne Lefevre] Dacier. Is happy to have made the acquaintance of Mrs. Poe.

— A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 2 pp. 7 x 4 in. Apr. 14, 1846.

[Athenaeum Hotel, (N. Y.)] Expresses sympathy on his illness. Mentions conversations about Poe with Mrs. Frances Osgood.

— A.L.S. To Mrs. Frances Sargent (Locke) Osgood. 4 pp. 8 x 5 in. Dec. 20, 1846.

[New York.] Gives news of mutual friends, including Mrs. [Mary L.] Seward, Miss Ann Lynch and her soirée, and the Misses Sedgwick. The Poes are "living in the greatest wretchedness."

Gris. Corr., p. 214. Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 272-273.

— Extract from her letter to Mrs. Sarah Helen Whitman. 2 pp. 7 x 4 in. Oct. 2, 1850.

[New York.] Describes her interview with Edgar Allan Poe shortly before his engagement to Mrs. Whitman was broken.

Manuscript copy, writer unknown.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 7 x 5 in. Mar. 24, [1856].

[483 Broadway.] Sends a poem for the *International [Magazine]*. Asks for a "first rate notice" for her *Heroines of History*.

Heroines of History was published in 1856.

— A.D.S. 2 pp. 12 x 8 in. N.d.

Ms. poem: "The Lady to her Glove."

-- Letters to. See Chesebro, Caroline; Locke, Jane Ermina (Stockweather); Neal, John.

Stein, John Andrew, 1832-1886. A.D.S. 2 pp. 9 x 6 in. N.d.

Ms. poem: "The Scourge of Asia."

Stephens, Ann Sophia (Winterbotham), 1813-1886. A.L.S. To George R. Graham. 3 pp. 8 x 5 in. June 3, 1842.

[New York.] Explains her delay in sending him a sketch. Complains bitterly of a false rumor that she has become the editor of the *Sunday News*, "a situation proper only for the other sex."

Gris. Corr., pp. 111-112.

-- A.L.S. To George R. Graham. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. Apr. 24, [184-?].

[New York.] Sends a Ms. with instructions for its arrangement.

Sterling, John. See Hooker, Herman.

Stirling-Maxwell, Caroline Elizabeth Sarah (Sheridan) Norton, Lady, 1808-1877. D. 1 p. 9 x 8 in. June 25, 1836.

[New York.] Ms. poem: "I do not love thee . . ." Writer unknown. Signed "Emperor." Printed in *The Undying One . . . and Other Poems*, 1884, p. 259.

Stoddard, Elizabeth Drew (Barstow), 1823-1902. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 6 in. Jan. 21, 1856.

[New York.] Thanks Griswold for his kind notices in *Poets of America*.

On the same sheet, a note from Richard Henry Stoddard to R. W. Griswold.

Stoddard, Richard Henry, 1825-1903. A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 6 x 4 in. July 5, 1850.

[New York.] Promises to revise the writer's book [not named] if Griswold knows a publisher who will "sell it to pay."

-- A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 4 x 3 in. July 29, 1851.

[N.p.] Sends poems and a "scribbled" notice.

-- A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. Jan. 21, 1856.

[New York.] Thanks Griswold for a notice in *Poets of America*.

On the same sheet, a letter from Elizabeth D. B. Stoddard to R. W. Griswold.

-- Nine autograph poems. N.d.

[N.p.] Ms. poems: "At Rest," "At the Window," "The Helmet," "I sympathize with all your grief," "In a volume of early verses," "Invocation to sleep," "Roses and thorns," "Summer," "There are gains for all our losses."

"At Rest," "At the Window," and "Invocation to sleep" were printed in *Poets of America*, 1858, p. 614.

Stone, William Leete, 1792-1844. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Apr. 19, 1841.

[New York.] A chronological account of the writer's publications, 1811-1841.

Gris. Corr., pp. 63-64.

Stoughton, E. H. A.N.S. To——. Thur. eve. N.y.

[N.p.] Note of regret at not having kept an appointment.

Street, Alfred Billings, 1811-1881. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 11 x 9 in. Dec. 1, 1841.

[Albany, (N. Y.)] Corrects erroneous biographical data, previously given on his paternal ancestor, the Reverend Nicholas Street.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 9 x 7 in. Aug. 8, 1842.

[Albany, (N. Y.)] Submits a poem, "The Burning of Schenectady," to *Graham's Magazine*.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 9 x 7 in. June 15, 1846.

[Albany, (N. Y.)] Asks about a revision of a biographical and critical notice of the writer, written at his request by [Henry T.] Tuckerman for *Graham's Magazine*.

The notice of Street, with his engraved portrait, was published in *Graham's* for August 1846. pp. 61-66.

— A.N.S. To Charles Scribner. 1 p. 4 x 8 in. July 22, 1852.

[Albany, (N. Y.)] Requests Scribner to let Griswold have "the pasted book" containing the writer's prose sketches.

Stringer and Townsend. See Overall, John Wilford; Thompson, Daniel Pierce.

Sullivan, John Turner Sargent, 1813-1838. A.D.S. 3 pp. 8 x 5 in. May 18, 1841.

[N.p.] Ms. poem: "Solitary Musings."

Signed with initials only.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. June 10, 1842.

[103 Walnut St.] Asks for a copy of the writer's verses "I think of thee" which have been set to music.

Sutcliffe, William Albert. A.D. 4 pp. 10 x 7 in. N.d.

Ms. poem: "Fragment of a Poem."

Swain, Charles, 1803-1874. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 10 x 9 in. N.d.

[Manchester, (Eng.)] Consents to republication of the writer's poems in America under Griswold's editorship. Sends some volumes of his works, including the 1841 edition of *The Mind*.

Charles Swain's *Poems* appeared in Boston in 1857; apparently Griswold had nothing to do with the publication.

TAPPAN, William Bingham, 1794-1849. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Apr. 6, 1849.

[Boston.] Sends biographical data and copies of two poems: "In this Fair Sabbath Sun," and "The Publican."

Tasistro, Louis Fitzgerald. c. 1808-1868. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 18, 1842.

[United States Hotel, New York.] Sends Griswold two articles for *Gra-*

ham's Magazine. Complains that he has requested, but not received, copies of *Graham's* containing his poem and an article on Wilkie.

Tasistro's "Agathé — in three chimeras" appeared in *Graham's*, 1842, for Jan., pp. 13-16; Feb., pp. 111-113; Mar., pp. 160-162; Apr., pp. 213-217, "The Late Sir David Wilkie" in May, pp. 275-276 of the same year.

— A.L.S. To George Graham. 3 pp. 9 x 7 in. June 2, 1843.

[United States Hotel, (New York).] Establishing the rates the writer expects for his articles [in *Graham's*]. The Harper's fire has made it impossible for them to pay him, and he is hard pressed. Asks \$25 for his article on "The Ancient Customs of France."

Taylor, James Bayard, 1825-1878. A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. N.d.

[N.p.] Sends his revised poem at Griswold's request. Would like to publish it in the *Democratic Review*.

Taylor, James L. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Aug. 31, 1839.

[Grand Isle Co.] Encloses an original parody on George Pope Morris's "Woodman, Spare That Tree" for the *Evening Tatler*.

At the end of the poem is written "Alburgh Springs, Vt" and "The Morrice-dancer."

Taylor, Zachary. See Clay, Henry; Corwin, Thomas.

Tenney, J. E. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. June 28, 1838.

(Middlebury College, (Vt.)) Asks Griswold to write an ode for the commencement exercises at Middlebury College.

— L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 6 x 4 in. Nov. 26, 1855.

[Marshall, Mich.] Requests a copy of the *Republican Court*. Mentions his relationship (second cousin) to Griswold.

Ms. written in an unknown hand.

Tenney, A. G. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 11 x 9 in. Sep. 15, 1841.

[Boston.] Asks for information about any position in New York which the writer might satisfactorily hold.

Gris. Corr., p. 97.

Thayer, R. M. A.L.S. To——? 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. Nov. 15. N.y.

[N.p.] Expects to see the addressee "tomorrow night" with Mrs. Lewis and Miss Lynch.

At the end is a postscript signed "Estelle," written in pencil and in the hand of Mrs. Estelle Anna Lewis.

Thomas, Edward J. A.L.S. To Frances Sargent (Locke) Osgood. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Mar. 15, 1847.

[New York.] Comments on Poe's victory in the libel suit brought by Poe against Fuller and Clason [of the *Mirror*].

Signed with initials.

Thomas, Frederick William, 1806-1866. A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Aug. 24, 1840.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Asks for the return of a manuscript in Poe's hands; describes the shipwreck and death of his sister on her way home from India.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Dec. 7, 1840.

[St. Louis, (Mo.).] Sends extracts from his "Adventures of a Poet" for the *Penn Magazine*. Partly agrees with Poe in preferring *Clinton Bradshaw* to *Howard Pinckney*. Suggests Fowzer and Woodward as agents of the *Penn Magazine* in St. Louis. Gives their terms. Describes St. Louis newspapers.

Poe, *Works*, 1901, XVII, pp. 65-67. *The Penn Magazine* never appeared. Thomas's *Clinton Bradshaw* was published in 1835; *Howard Pinckney* in 1840.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Mar. 7, 1841.

[Washington City.] Describes a novel he would write for some magazine such as *Graham's*, to be written and paid for in monthly instalments. Mentions Fowzer and Woodward's quarrel.

Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 81-82.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Apr. 11, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Regrets Graham's rejection of the writer's novel. Encloses a contribution. Has been lecturing on "Oratory." Asks Poe to review *Howard Pinckney*. Thinks "Murders in the Rue Morgue" most ingenious. Praises Poe's criticism in general. Urges him to write an editorial on the copyright law. [Jesse E.] Dow has been removed from office.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. May 20, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Requests a remittance from Graham. Describes [Jesse E.] Dow's position as postmaster's agent. Suggests a government post for Poe.

Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 84-85.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. May 29, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Describes difficulty in cashing [George R.] Graham's draft. Thanks Poe for his good opinion. Commends him for "rapping [W.D.] Gallagher over the knuckles." Praises Poe's "Island of the Fay." Describes G[eorge] G. Foster.

"The Island of the Fay" was published in *Graham's Magazine*, June 1841, pp. 253-55.

- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 8, 1841.

[Washington City, (D.C.).] Offers to write biographical sketches of [Edward C.] Pinkney, Amelia [Welby], "Moina" [Mrs. Anna Peyre Din-nies] and [George D.] Prentice for *Poets of America*.

Gris. Corr., p. 95.

- A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 14, 1841.

[Washington City, (D.C.).] Has added material in place of a lost page of his manuscript. Offers his services for notices in Washington newspapers. Criticizes "A Descent into the Maelstrom." Urges Poe to edit his own magazine.

"A Descent into the Maelstrom" was first published in *Graham's Magazine*, May 1841.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. July 1, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Advises Poe on methods of application for a government position. Encloses a cryptograph.

Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 92-93. The cryptograph on p. 2 is partly deciphered in pencil in Poe's hand.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. July 7, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Promises to help Poe in his application for a government clerkship.

Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 94-95.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. July 19, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Mentions President Tyler's opposition to removals from office. Sends a cryptograph of Mr. P. Ewing.

On verso autograph notes on relative frequency of vowels and consonants in English, in pencil by Edgar A. Poe.

- A.N.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. July 19, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Copies M. P. Ewing's cryptogram. Mr. Ewing desires to test Poe's skill in deciphering.

- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. July 28, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Agrees to write some biographical sketches [for *Poets of America*?] Refers Griswold to Poe or Ingraham for the writer's own work. Supports the international copyright law. Expresses unfavorable opinion of W. D. Gallagher; considers George D. Prentice "the first poet of the West."

Gris. Corr., p. 95.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 8 pp. 10 x 8 in.; 1 p. 8 x 4 in. Aug. 3, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Biographical data sent at Poe's request.

Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 95-100.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Aug. 30, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Describes the writer's efforts with the President [Tyler] and his sons to get Poe a government position. Sends a cryptograph.

Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 102-103. Cryptograph enclosed.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Sept. 22, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Comments on Poe's skill at cryptography and the success of *Graham's Magazine*. Would like Poe to arrange for the publication of the writer's song. Is disappointed at the resignation of Mr. [Thomas] Ewing [Secretary of the Treasury].

- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Sept. 23, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Has written for information about Dr. [John M.] Harney. Discusses [George D.] Prentice, [Micah P.] Flint, [James Handasyd] Perkins and Robert Tyler for inclusion in Griswold's book. Gives some biographical information about himself.

Gris. Corr., pp. 97-98.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Oct. 14, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Wants to submit a review of two speeches of President Tyler to *Graham's Magazine*. Suggests that Poe write a poetic drama in the vein of "Manfred" or "The Mask of Comus." News of [Jesse

E.] Dow. Thinks Judge [Abel Parker] Upshur, the new Secretary of the Navy, might help Poe to secure an appointment. Asks if Judge Upshur or Judge [Nathaniel Beverly] Tucker is the author of *The Partizan Leader*.

Tucker's *The Partizan Leader* was secretly printed in the hope of influencing the election of Van Buren in 1836.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 6, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Recommends H[enry] M[arie] Brackenridge's biography of his father, Judge H[ugh] H[enry] Brackenridge, for publication in *Graham's Magazine*. If *Graham's* does not want it, he will offer it to some other periodical.

Appended to letter from H. M. Brackenridge to F. W. Thomas, Nov. 5, 1841.

- A.L. To Edgar A. Poe. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 10, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Gives directions for the return of Judge [Henry M.] Brackenridge's manuscript, which will be sent to the [*Southern Literary*] *Messenger*. Regrets that Virginia Poe did not like the writer's song. Mentions Poe's high reputation in Washington.

Signature cut out. H. M. Brackenridge's "Biographical Notice of H. H. Brackenridge" appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for January, 1842, pp. 1-19.

- A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 23, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Wants copies of his song. Will obtain [G. D.] Prentice's autograph. Asks for advice about studying French. Regrets his inability to leave Washington in order to visit Poe in Philadelphia.

- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Dec. 15, 1841.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Has written friends for information about Dr. [John M.] Harney, [George D.] Prentice, and Amelia [Welby] but has had no replies. Encloses a poem "Retrospections" for publication in the *Notion*.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Jan. 13, 1842.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Describes the writer's study of French. Says that [J.N.] Ingraham actually wrote the novel *Lafitte*, which he has been accused of stealing, since the writer was with him daily during the writing. Gives family news.

J. N. Ingraham's *Lafitte, the Pirate of the Gulf* was first published in 1836; the second edition c. 1840.

- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Jan. 17, 1842.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Sends biographical data on George D. Prentice and Amelia Welby [for *Poets of America*.] Suggests that Robert Tyler be included in Griswold's "poetic book." Calls attention to misprints in the writer's poem in the *Notion*. Sends two poems, both entitled "Impromptu."

Poems on p. 3.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 26, 1842.

[Washington, (D.C.).] Suggests that Poe edit his own magazine. Comments on Dickens's works. Regrets the illness of Virginia Poe. Gives news of mutual friends.

Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 105-106.

- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. May 21, 1842.
[Washington, (D.C.).] Describes his efforts to obtain Robert Tyler's aid in finding a government position for Poe. Is hopeful of success. Has met Dickens briefly. Thinks Poe's review of *Barnaby Rudge* exhibits "great sagacity."
- Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 108-110. The review of Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge* appeared in *Graham's Magazine*, February, 1842.
- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. May 21, 1843.
[Washington, (D.C.).] Admits the impossibility of his writing a biography of Poe, due to lack of time and his partiality for Poe, and returns the latter's notes.
- Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 126-129.
- A.L.S. To Robert Tyler. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 1, 1843.
[Washington, (D.C.).] Presents Poe to Tyler.
- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Mar. 27, 1843.
[Washington, (D.C.).] Laughs at [Jesse E.] Dow's letter to [J. C.] Clarke, [March 14, 1843?]. Describes John Tyler's interest in Poe.
- Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 140-141.
- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Sept. 2, 1844.
[Washington, (D.C.).] Mentions the publication of the writer's poem, "The Beechen Tree," and an unfavorable review of it by Thomas Dunn English in the *Aurora*.
- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Oct. 10, 1844.
[Washington, (D.C.).] Thanks Poe for an approving letter. Sends Poe a copy of his little book, which has received good notices except from Park Benjamin and Thomas Dunn English. [Jesse E.] Dow is prospering as doorkeeper to the House of Representatives.
- Thomas's *The Beechen Tree: a Tale told in Rhyme, and other Poems* was published in 1844.
- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Dec. 10, 1844.
[Washington, (D.C.).] Asks why Poe has not written for two months.
- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. May 12, 1845.
[Washington, (D.C.).] Sends a cryptograph partly deciphered in Poe's hand. Asks about various friends, including [Nathaniel P.] Willis, Park Benjamin, and [Jesse E.] Dow.
- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. July 10, 1845.
[Washington, (D.C.).] Thanks Poe for translating a cypher. Asks about possibility of publishing some biographical sketches of the writer which have been refused by Wiley and Putnam. Offers them to Poe for his journal [the *Broadway Journal*?]. News of friends.
- P. 3 torn at one corner.
- A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Sept. 29, 1845.
[Washington, (D.C.).] Receives Poe's journal [the *Broadway Journal*?] regularly. Is pleased that Poe has published the writer's sketches of [John] Randolph and [William] Wirt. Asks for an autograph letter from Poe to exhibit. Is much interested in Biblical subjects.

- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 9 x 7 in. June 1, 1854.
[Jubilee College, Robin's Nest Post-office, Illinois.] Lists the writer's works. Announces his intentions of taking orders in the Episcopal Church. Describes letters from Poe in his possession and offers them to Griswold with reservations. Asks Griswold to get his manuscript, "How I Came to Be Challenged," from Putnam's. Inquires about Charles Fenno Hoffman.
Griss. Corr., p. 295.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 9 x 7 in. Aug. 22, 1854.
[Jubilee College, Robin's Nest Post-office, (Ill.).] Sends a selection of Poe's letters. Praises [Joseph Holt] Ingraham.
Gris. Corr., pp. 296-297.
- A.D.S. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. N.d.
Ms. poem: "A Fact in Relation to a Certain Physician, Versified."
- Letters to. See Brackenridge, Henry Marie; Poe, Edgar A. Thomas, Moses. See Carey, Henry Charles.
- Thompson, Daniel Pierce, 1795-1868. A.N.S. To Stringer and Townsend. 1 p. 9 x 8 in.
[Montpelier, Vt?] Asks if they wish to exchange with the [Green Mountain] *Freeman*.
- Thompson, John Reuben, 1823-1873. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 7 x 5 in. Oct. 12, 1848.
[Messenger Office (Richmond, Va.).] Sends a short sketch of Miss [Susan Archer] Talley for *Female Poets of America*.
Female Poets of America, p. 311.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 7 x 5 in. Jan. 16, 1849.
[Richmond, (Va.).] Thanks Griswold for a copy of *Female Poets of America* and suggests sending one to Miss [Susan Archer] Talley.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 7 x 4 in. Dec. 21, 1849.
[Richmond, (Va.).] Sends two letters of [Philip Pendleton?] Cooke and a short statement on Poe's connection with the Allans. Comments on the writer's exclusion from *Poets of America*.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Apr. 2, 1850.
[Richmond, (Va.).] Praises [Moses Drury] Hoge's *Sermons* and St. Leger Landon Carter's *Nugae* [1844]. Apologizes for the review of Poe's *Works*, [edited by Griswold, Willis and Lowell] which attacked the editors, and cites his disclaimer in the same issue [March, 1850] of the *Southern Literary Messenger*.
Gris. Corr., p. 263.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 6 x 4 in. Sept. 30, 1850.
[Richmond, (Va.).] Having no space in the October issue of the [Southern Literary] *Messenger* for a notice of Poe's *Literati*, he has called attention to the book in the *Daily Whig*, and encloses the "scrap." Asks Griswold to send him any foreign magazines and newspapers which are not needed, and to get him a set of Goupil & Co.'s prints.
The International Magazine of Aug. 26, 1850 advertised a series of portraits of eminent Americans published by Goupil, Vibert & Co.

- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 9 x 7 in. Feb. 1, 1851.
[Richmond, (Va.).] Asks where he can have a plate made for the cover of the [*Southern Literary*] *Messenger* in the style of the *International* [*Magazine*]. Encloses a short poem.
- A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 7 x 4 in. Feb. 1, 1851.
[Richmond, (Va.).] Introduces Mr. M. S. Valentine, Jr.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 6 x 4 in. June 28, 1851.
[Richmond, (Va.).] Has found a daguerreotype of a Stuart portrait of Mrs. Lewis of the Washington family which Griswold may want to use. Has sent some verse to Putnam's for publication but has heard nothing from it. Asks for Griswold's article on "the Bloomer question" and for [Philip P?] Cooke's "Turkey-Shooting in Virginia."
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. July 3, 1851.
[Richmond, (Va.).] Sends a poem which Griswold may wish to publish.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. Sept. 8, 1851.
[Messenger Office, Richmond, (Va.).] Has not received the promised three volumes of the *International* [*Magazine*]. Wishes to know program of the Mercantile Library Lectures. Wants to write and deliver a lecture on the "Obligations of Patriotism."
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 8, 1851.
[Richmond, (Va.).] Sends a piece of verse for the December *International* [*Magazine*]. Stringer and Townsend have not sent the three bound volumes of the magazine [the *International*?] promised by Griswold.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Dec. 2, 1851.
[Richmond, (Va.).] Asks Griswold to return his verses since they are not published in the December *International* [*Magazine*]. The *Messenger* is about to fail. Deplores the neglect of southern Literature and men of letters.
Gris. Corr., p. 279.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 7 x 4 in. Feb. 3, 1854.
[Richmond, (Va.).] Declines Griswold's invitation to meet [James T.] Fields. Lists numbers of the *Messenger* he has found for Griswold, and suggests the possibility of selling a set to the Astor Library. Asks to be put on the exchange list of the *Herald*.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 18, 1854.
[Richmond, (Va.).] States terms for the sale of the *Messenger* series to the Astor Library. Will be glad to use Griswold's reviews whenever possible.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 7 x 4 in. Mar. 13, 1854.
[Richmond, (Va.).] Thanks him for assisting in the sale of the *Messenger* volumes to the Astor Library. Encloses a "jeu d'esprit."
- A.N.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 6 x 8 in. N.d.
[N.p.] Regrets not to find Griswold at home. Leaves engravings and a sonnet for *The Cairn*.
- A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 6 x 7 in. Saturday morning. N.y.
[N.p.] Will be unable to join Griswold and Harper as arranged. Wishes

to be presented to Mr. Coleman or Mr. Stetson [proprietors of the Astor House?].

— A.D. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. [After 1850.]

Ms. poem: "To Bulwer. On a Second Reading of '*The Caxtons*.'"

— A.D. 1 p. 7 x 5 in. N.d.

Ms. poem: "Old Wine to Drink."

— Printed clipping. 2 columns. 9 x 5 in. N.d.

Two poems reprinted from the *Home Journal*: "To Miss Amelie Louise Rives," and a "Rhyming review" of N. Parker Willis's *Rural Letters*, 1049.

— See also Cooke, John Esten; Dyer, Sidney.

Thomson, Charles West, 1798-1879. A.L.S. To Edgar A. Poe. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. May 1, 1841.

[N.p.] Asks about payment for future contributions [to *Graham's Magazine*].

Thoreau, Henry David, 1817-1862. A.L.S. To Horace Greeley. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. May 19, 1848.

[Concord, (Mass.).] Thanks Greeley for \$50 just received. Has supported himself by manual labor for five years, during which time he has lived well, and had leisure for literary pursuits. Would be pleased to receive \$25 for the Maine article.

Gris. Corr., pp. 233-235.

— See also Greeley, Horace.

Thorne, William. See Riker, John C.

Thornton, John Wingate, 1818-1878. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. Dec. 8, 1854.

[20 Court St., Boston.] Congratulates him on the *Republican Court* [1854]. Asks from what source he obtained a copy of a Martha Washington letter, the original of which is owned by the writer.

Thorpe, Thomas Bangs, 1815-1878. D. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in.

Biographical sketch [for *Prose Writers of America*.]

Written in an unknown hand.

Ticknor, Mrs. Anna (Eliot), 1800-1885. A.L. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 7 x 5 in. Dec. 13, N.y.

[Park St., Boston.] Thanks him for some engravings of Huntington's designs.

Written in the third person.

Ticknor, George, 1791-1871. A.L.S. To Horatio Greenough. 3 pp. 7 x 4 in. Apr. 6, 1852.

[Boston.] Congratulates Greenough [on what?]. Mentions the enthusiasm of [W.H.?] Trescott of South Carolina for Greenough's bas-relief and statue of Washington. Speaks favorably of Trescott.

Tillinghast, R. P. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 7 x 8 in.

[Postmarked New York.] Sends a song of patriotism and another "favorite effusion" along with two articles for Griswold's consideration.

Top of sheet cut off. Text undamaged.

The Etchings of Jean-Louis Forain

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

THE work of Jean-Louis Forain increases in interest with the passing of time. The nineteen years since his death in 1931 have established his prints permanently as ranking with those of the old masters, and certainly no contemporary graphic work on copper can be considered in the same category. The art of his etching will remain, for the acknowledgment due his talent has been fully accorded both in museums and important private collections.

The Albert H. Wiggin Collection of the Boston Public Library includes some five hundred items by Forain. The group is considered as a complete representation of the work of the greatest French etcher of his generation. It contains the best examples from each of his three important groups: the Court Scenes, the Lourdes Series, and other religious subjects.

For twenty-two years, while he was concentrating on drawing and lithography, Forain refrained from doing etchings. (See articles in the December 1945 and March 1946 issues of *More Books*.) The period of his work that interests us at present dates from December 1908, when the artist took up the copper plate and etching needle again. For two years he worked with such speed and enthusiasm that by September 1910 he had produced an astonishing set of ninety-four etchings. Their artistic quality and technical excellence far surpass anything of his early period, which was little more than a good student's work. As if liberated by some miracle, Forain's talent suddenly revealed him as one of the great masters of etching.

The assembling of such a collection of superb impressions is remarkable when one realizes that Forain did not publish his prints in the usual way of numbering his states as the plate progressed. This was perhaps due to his spontaneous and nervous energy and his entire absorption of mind. His dissatisfied nature invariably called for slight changes, even when an edition had been declared. This was not due to any unfinished state or technical errors, but rather to the endeavor to fulfill the

depth and meaning of his message. No wonder then that Marcel Guerin made such notations throughout his catalog as "a few impressions" or "very rare" in regard to even his greatest achievements. To list Forain's work accurately is well near an impossibility, for rare states and proof impressions in the Albert H. Wiggin Collection make Guerin's catalog obsolete. Undescribed impressions in other museums and private collections have come to our notice also.

Forain's reputation as an etcher could rest on any of his series of prints. It is amazing when one realizes that his greatest productivity was limited to two years. From 1910 until his death he completed only forty plates. It is difficult to select for special mention individual prints to illustrate this renaissance in the late years of Forain's life.

Analysis of his criss-cross technique is unnecessary at this moment, but it is an obvious fact that the etching needle is perfectly suited to Forain's subjects of the Paris law courts. Like most of his plates, these compositions are more interesting in the early states, which appear to have been dashed off at one sitting. In fact, he resumed his interest in etching because of the incentive created by the success of his first plate of this series, "*Le Désespoir de l'Accusé*," which is presented in a few effective lines. Then there followed a number of similar subjects in which the artist's mastery raised seemingly summary impressions to plates of great attainment. Among them are such known masterpieces as — "*L'Avocat Parlant au Prévenu*," "*Témoins à l'Audience*," "*Avocat Compulsant un Dossier*" and "*La Sortie de l'Audience*," which dwell on the contrast between the despair of the widow and orphan and the sharp bearing of the lawyers. An outstanding plate of tragedy is "*Fille-Mère*," while "*Le Prévenu et l'Enfant*" is an agreeable contrast in which a baby in his mother's arms recognizes his father in the dock.

In his court-room scenes Forain creates the various problems of the individuals involved with a spirit, a power, and a realism which are irresistably touching. He was too original to do servile copying, and gives a kind of poetry to the unfortunates. However, he never deviates from truth in the action of his figures. These personalities display their emotions in their faces and attitudes, and do well what actions they are employed



"Le Recontre sous la Voûte"
An Etching by Jean-Louis Forain

in — their expressions are real, their gestures life-like, they live and are full of individuality. Forain has the gift of representation to an extraordinary degree, and we distinctly feel how sensitively he interprets the accused or the accuser.

Forain enters into his religious subjects in the same manner as into his court scenes, with no chaos of details and unessentials. These plates are felt so keenly that they bar analysis but encourage reflection, for their subject matter possesses human feeling and devout knowledge.

Forain's religious set contains a number of his greatest works. One of his best is "Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue," third plate. This large composition is the result of two other experiments. The scant direct and simple means employed in rendering the background support the two central figures to perfection. Although he was seldom successful in carrying his plates through various states, Forain always succeeded in simplifying his message by making several plates of the same composition. The "Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue" is an excellent example of this. There are few among the innumerable representations of this famous theme that can compare with his version in the second state of the fourth plate. "Pieta" and "Christ Portant sa Croix" were first attempted in dry-point, while the experiment of "C'Est Fini" consisted of three plates executed in dry-point before the final version, an etching, was made. It demonstrates especially well the artist's method of working. Others of equal importance are "Le Calvaire," "La Route d'Emmaus," "La Fraction du Pain," "Après l'Apparition," and "Le Rencontre sous la Voûte," the last-named chosen for reproduction here.

To many students and connoisseurs it is in the Lourdes Series that Forain reached his greatest mastery.

In these plates Forain set down upon the copper some of the most intimate confidences of his inner spirit. A fine example of direct drawing with very few lines on a small plate is "L'Imploration devant la Grotte," one of the classics in etching. We see a mother and father devoutly kneeling in prayer for the release of their child. The crutch on the ground is profoundly impressive, and the intense attitudes and expressions of the supplicants indicate how fervently their hopes reach out beyond their suffering for the child's pain. The human emotion is em-

bodied in this print through its conception of utter simplicity; its economy of lines and forms is in keeping with the purity of the subject.

"La Miraculée à Lourdes" depicts a woman who has risen from her stretcher and thrown down the crutch that is no longer needed; her rigid and tense expression beautifully illustrates her faith. "La Paralytique," "Les Brancardiers à Lourdes," "Les Communions des Malades à Lourdes," and "Entrée des Piscines à Lourdes" are only a few of the many great plates in this series.

The constant demand of an artist's work is that it shall be his best, and that this best should be the product of his talent with all the whims, foibles, seriousness, and sincerity of his mind and character. Such an artist was Jean-Louis Forain, who lives in his work.

Notes on Rare Books

Rembrandt's Illustrations for the History of Joseph

AMONG the recent acquisitions of the Rare Book Department of the Library is the *Histoire de Joseph*, printed at Amsterdam by Jean Neaulme in 1757 and illustrated by ten engravings after the drawings of Rembrandt. The book retells the story of Joseph and his brethren, divided into ten chapters, and each preceded by an illustration. The title-page describes it as "useful for young people"; and the preface adds that "here fathers may learn precautions to take, children happy qualities to acquire, and others the excesses of cruelty to avoid."

The engraver was the Comte de Caylus. Born in 1692 of a distinguished family, after a brief military career he spent years in travel, visiting Italy, the Near East, Germany, and England. Afterwards he settled in Paris, and devoted the rest of his life to artistic and archaeological studies. Having made copies of many famous works of art, he acquired skill in drawing and engraving. The four great folio volumes which he bequeathed to the Bibliothèque Nationale contain some three thousand pieces. At the age of forty he was elected to the Academy of Painting and Sculpture, and ten years later to the Academy of Inscriptions. Among his writings are works on antiquities, several biographies of artists including his friend Watteau, and a collection of witty stories on Parisian life. He died in 1765.

The engravings in the *Histoire* are eight and a half by six inches. Their titles are: Joseph tells his dreams; Joseph let down into the well; Joseph sold to the Ishmaelite merchants; Jacob grieved at the sight of Joseph's robe; Chastity of Joseph; Potiphar's wife accuses Joseph; Joseph in prison; Joseph explains the dreams of Pharaoh; Joseph, governor of Egypt; Joseph recognized by his brothers.

The originals of the illustrations are in the Louvre. (Seven of them were reproduced by Henry de Chennevières in *Les Dessins du Louvre*, vol. IV, Paris 1890.) The copies made by Caylus are very fine, yet they remain copies, somewhat two-dimensional and lacking that final touch of genius in the expression of facial character which is found only in the superior artist. Caylus has added shading in the backgrounds, and the direction of the figures is reversed, owing to the engraving process; otherwise the replicas are exact.

Except for the two scenes with Potiphar's wife and the one of Joseph in prison, the compositions are crowded with people. As the young Joseph relates his dreams to his assembled family, one observes boredom, contempt, amazement, and lack of comprehension on the part of the brethren, while in the midst is the calm and thoughtful patriarch Jacob. In great contrast one sees, later on, the old man collapse at the reported death of his son. Joseph, too, is shown in all phases of emotion, from terror at being thrust into the well to quiet dignity as he watches the loading of grain while governor of Egypt. This last picture has a peculiar interest in that the original itself was adapted by Rembrandt from a painting of his teacher, Pieter Lastman.

Throughout his life, Rembrandt had a profound interest in Biblical subjects of which he left about one hundred and sixty paintings, eighty etchings, and six hundred drawings. Many of his favorite scenes came from the story of Joseph; in 1655 he painted two versions of Potiphar's wife accusing Joseph. W. R. Valentiner, in his *Rembrandt: Des Meisters Handzeichnungen*, reproduces thirty-six such sketches — eight dealing with the scene where Jacob beholds the bloody coat of Joseph, and six with Joseph in prison. Rembrandt also made an engraving of the "bloody coat" episode, and, although small, it is considered one of his finest. But it is quite different from the drawing which Caylus followed. Only Jacob, his wife Rachel, and two of the sons are shown instead of numerous people, and careful attention is paid to details only hinted at in the sketches.

In general, Rembrandt's drawings were independent works, not intended for further development. As Oswald Goetz writes in *The Rembrandt Bible*, New York 1941, "We must not be misled by their sketchy character which the late nineteenth century erroneously called impressionistic. Quickly drawn as they are, nothing could be changed or added." It is this free but masterful attribute that Caylus tried to capture in his own medium.

ELLEN M. OLDHAM

Illustrated Bibles

AN early edition of the New Testament in German, with sixty-five full-page woodcuts, *Das nürw Testament . . .*, printed by Johann Grüninger at Strassburg in 1527, is something of a curiosity. The title-page states that Jacob Beringer, a Levite, completed his work in 1526. "Levite" meant Vicar, which he was of a cathedral chapter at Speyer.

The main body of the work is a harmony of the Gospels. Beringer claims that he has added nothing and left out nothing from the Gospel texts. The rest of the New Testament follows. Beringer undoubtedly was a Catholic; indeed, Johann Grüninger was conspicuous for printing anti-Reformation works, in contrast to most of the other printers of Strassburg. Yet the text has a striking resemblance to Luther's translation. In fact, Panzer, in a study of the Roman Catholic German Bible translations, states that Beringer had the first edition of Luther's version simply reprinted, after he had occasionally retouched a word.

The woodcuts (Muther, *Die Deutsche Bücher Illustration*, 1411) are the work of Heinrich Vogther of Augsburg, whose monogram appears on the impressive design of the title-page. There are twenty-nine illustrations to the Gospels, thirteen to the Acts, fifteen to the Epistles, and seven to the Revelation. In spite of the absence of perspective, they show great skill in crowding numerous scenes on a page. A verse above each picture explains the events and provides a key, by means of letters, for identifying the scenes. The small figures are rather crude, yet in their gestures and group actions they are full of life. The mountainous landscapes and the architectural features — castles, temples, city walls, and the like — are especially noteworthy.

The volume is bound in light calf, blind-tooled in an elaborate design of panels containing heads in round frames and a set of borders with flower patterns, and dated 1572.

Another recent acquisition of the Library is a copy of the *Histoire du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament*, published by Pierre (Pieter) Mortier at Antwerp in 1700 in two large folio volumes. The work contains more than four hundred magnificent copper engravings, half of which are full-page plates. "As far as I know," Mortier boasted, "nothing comparable has been seen in respect to number and size of engravings." An accident happened to the plate illustrating St. John's vision of the New Jerusalem and the tree of life in the Apocalypse — facing p. 145 in the second volume — which necessitated the nailing together of the broken parts, the nails at the border leaving their marks on the subsequent impressions. Copies have therefore been identified as "before the nails" or "with the nails." The Library's copy is one of the earlier issue.

The text is in French, with the legends on the plates first in Dutch, then in French. David Martin, appointed by Mortier to arrange the texts suitable to the pictures, made a paraphrase of the narrative portions of the Bible with some elucidations. The first

volume, 290 pages, comprises the Old Testament, including the Apocrypha. The second volume, 182 pages, contains stories chosen from the four Gospels, the Acts, and the Apocalypse.

David van der Plaets (also called Plaas, Plaats, or Plaes), a native of Amsterdam who was active also in London, had charge of the illustration, correcting and retouching the trial proofs. He also contributed a number of his own compositions, notably a series of imaginative illustrations to the Apocalypse.

The artist whose name appears most frequently is Ottomar Elliger, Jr., court painter to the Elector of Mainz. He designed the frontispiece to the first volume, which symbolizes the three stages of Bible narrative: the Old, the New Testament, and the Acts of the Apostles. The central figure, apparently St. Peter, is holding an open book, expounding it to a group of disciples; behind, on a high pedestal, stands Moses pointing toward the veiled Godhead with the tables of the ten commandments; and on the side, St. Paul is discoursing. Elliger did also the highly dramatic illustrations to Judges, Samuel, and Kings, as well as the greater part of the forceful compositions for the Gospels.

Other notable artists are Jan Goerre, largely represented in the first volume, where his talent for handling large, animated groups appears to advantage; Bernard Picard, whose illustrations to the Acts are as moving as those to Job and the Prophets; and Philipp Tideman, a draftsman of great precision, who illustrated Leviticus and Numbers.

Mention must be made of the numerous charming vignettes, which serve as additional illustrations. Finally some historic interest attaches to the five maps on double leaves, the first of which includes the Americas — with the site of Boston marked *London*.

MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

An Artist Sits for Lowell

THAT James Russell Lowell sat for one of Samuel Worcester Rowse's several portraits of New England men of letters is well known. But it has not been known that the crayon artist in turn became the sitter for a word portrait in one of Lowell's narrative poems. The information comes appropriately enough from a friend of them both, the poet-and-painter Christopher Pearse Cranch. Soon after Lowell's poem, "Fitz Adam's Story," appeared in the January 1867 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Cranch wrote to Lowell:

"I enjoyed your Fitz-Adam story — and recognized your ideal Rowse." (The letter, dated January 28, 1867, is in the Harvard College Library.)

The contents of the letter indicate that Lowell and Cranch had communicated with each other before the anonymous appearance of "Fitz Adam's Story," and it may be that Lowell had actually told Cranch that Rowse was the model for Fitz Adam. At any rate the portrait obviously fits Rowse, who was often in the company of Lowell during the years before and after the publication of the poem.

Lowell had long planned a large collection (which Fitz Adam in the poem calls a "mock-Decameron") in which the speakers would be characterized as in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Though the collection, "The Noonning," was never completed, this installment of it provides an excellent portrait of Rowse — idealized, as Cranch remarks. The silent misogynist and bachelor half forbids his friends to love him, so

Wrapt in humors, sheath on sheath,
'T was hard to guess the mellow soul beneath.

Though appearing to tolerate even his friends as part of "life's impertinence," he was not precisely a cynic — he merely despised false sentiment. And among other details of his character we find he was

A critic fine in his haphazard way,
A sort of La Bruyère on half-pay.
For comic weaknesses he had an eye
Keen as an acid for an alkali.

F. DEWOLFE MILLER

The *Sagesse* of Pierre Charron

ONE of the important early French books in the Library is a copy of the first edition of *La Sagesse* by Pierre Charron. It is a small octavo, printed in 1601 at Bordeaux by Simon Millages, who in 1580 published the *Éssais* of Montaigne. The volume is handsomely bound in red morocco, with delicate gilt tooling on the spine and the inside edges. In the center of the front and back covers are stamped the arms of Nicolas II, le Clerc de Lesseville, Seigneur of Mesnil and Thun (1642-1737), a councillor of the Châtelet (court of the provost of Paris) and a high official of the Parlement of Paris. The volume has also the book-plate of another distinguished owner — Charles Nodier, story-writer and the Librarian of the Ar-

senal. It was at the sale of his library in 1844 that Thomas P. Barton acquired it with six other volumes.

La Sagesse, an open and methodic profession of skepticism, gains an added interest from the life of its author. Born in Paris in 1541, one of a family of twenty-five children, Charron studied at the University of Paris and later at the law schools of Orleans and Bourges. After several years of practice, he abandoned the law for the priesthood. His success as a preacher was immediate; his patrons included Queen Marguerite, sister of François I, and Henri de Navarre. He received a canonry at Bordeaux, where about 1586 he met Montaigne, then mayor of the city. The two became close friends, and, before his death six years later, Montaigne willed his companion his library as well as his coat-of-arms, bearing the motto *Que Sçais-Je?* Charron was described by his first biographer as being of medium height, fat, with a face always gay and laughing, and having a distinct, virile voice.

In 1594 Charron published his *Trois Verités*, which was regarded as a defense of the Catholic religion. Some of his early sermons were undoubtedly of a mystic nature, and it is known that on two occasions he attempted to retire to contemplative orders. Then in 1601 he revealed himself as a complete skeptic in *La Sagesse*. The work was dedicated to the Duc d'Espernon, a wealthy and powerful nobleman, famed for his licentiousness and cruelty. The flattery of the passage "Au Sage la Sagesse" has seemed unworthy of the philosopher, and many later editors have omitted it.

The work opens with the paragraph: "The most excellent and divine counsel, the best and most profitable of all advice, but the one least practised, is to study and learn how to know ourselves. This is the foundation of wisdom and the road to whatever is good . . . For the true science and true study of man, is man." Accordingly, the first book, in some sixty brief essays, discusses the body, the soul, the mind, and such passions as love, greed, hate, envy, jealousy, and ambition, the last being the hardest of all to overcome. After a short and not altogether favorable comparison of man with the beasts, Charron finds that four qualities exist in all conditions of man — vanity, feebleness, inconstancy, and misery. He also shows the inevitable differences in the human lot because of varying abilities, natural surroundings, and social positions.

The second book, in twelve essays, treats of wisdom and the ways for attaining it. One must be free from vices as also from passions; one must have "an entire and universal liberty of the mind." The foundations of wisdom are honesty and purposefulness; its attri-

butes are piety, self-control, a serene manner, and conformity to one's environment. The chapter on piety emphasizes the existence of a great number of religions which are both widely divergent and similar, none of them free from falseness and superstition. Man is more or less forced by his surroundings to accept the religion he is born to; he is seldom convinced of its infallibility and in his action he ignores it. Thus the Christian may lead an immoral life, although theoretically he knows that a heavenly reward awaits a virtuous life and eternal punishment, sin. The true end of religion is "to yield all the honor and glory unto God and all the benefit unto man."

The contents of the third book are grouped around the four virtues of prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance. Under prudence Charron speaks of the Prince in terms that sound very like Machiavelli. In the section on justice he considers the duties of parents, the care of infants, and the education of children.

It is not surprising that, after the appearance of his book, Charron was severely persecuted by certain elements of the Church. He died suddenly in the street from an attack of apoplexy in 1603, and his death was looked upon by his enemies as a divine retribution.

A modified edition of *La Sagesse* was published in Paris in 1604 with a biographical sketch by La Roche-Maillet, which was mainly an attempt to vindicate the author's memory. The changes, all made by Charron, softened some of the most criticized passages; yet the second edition is in no way a retraction of the first. The Library owns a copy of the 1613 edition printed by Douceur after the edition of 1604, and the small Elzevir edition issued at Leyden in 1646. It has also the edition of 1820-4, in three volumes, containing the excellent notes of Amaury Duval. The first English translation, *Of Wisdom*, by Samson Lennard, was published in London in 1658; and again in the translation of George Stanhope (also an ecclesiastic — the Dean of Canterbury) in 1707. The Library has copies of both.

JANE LACY

First Editions of Landor

THE Boston Public Library has had many of Landor's books in first-edition copies, among them *Gebir*, 1798, his most successful poem; his masterpiece, *Imaginary Conversations*, 1824, in two volumes; the humorous dialogue, *Citation and Examination of William Shakespeare*, 1834; the blank-verse play, *Fra Rupert*, 1840; the poetry on classical themes, *The Hellenics*, in copies of the edition of

1847 and that of 1859, the latter being a presentation copy of the author to Kate Field; and the drama *Antony and Octavius*, 1856. The Kate Field Collection also has several short manuscript fragments and an autograph letter written by Landor to his idol the Hungarian patriot Louis Kossuth in 1856. This group has been rounded out by the addition of *The Poems of Walter Savage Landor*, 1795, and *Poetry by the Author of Gebir*, 1802.

Landor's first book, a quarto of 217 pages containing poems in English and Latin, was published in London by T. Cadell, Jr. and W. Davies. The Library's copy contains the rare errata slip at the end. Bound in gilt-tooled brown calf by Francis Bedford, formerly it belonged to the library of John A. Spoor.

The poems in the volume are largely imitative, reflecting the fact that Landor regarded poetry as an "elegant accomplishment" rather than a spontaneous overflow of powerful emotion. The opening poem, begun when Landor was seventeen, is a twelve-hundred line essay in heroic couplets entitled "The Birth of Poesy." It discusses the poets of ancient Greece, such as Sappho, Tyrtæus, and Anacreon. The second poem, a satirical dialogue reminiscent of Pope's "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot," was inspired by the indictment for treason of the novelist Thomas Holcroft and the politician John Horne Tooke following their organization of a Jacobin society in 1794. The other long poems are "Pyramus and Thisbe," based on the story in Ovid; and "Epistle from Abelard to Eloise." The most original lines are those in the "Ode to General Washington," which compares Washington to Achilles and portrays America as a rich exotic land "where the leafy palm / Abundant pours her nectar'd balm." The shorter poems have the simplicity and tranquil rhythm which were to be outstanding qualities of Landor's later verses. For example, the "Stanzas Written by the Water-Side" begin:

Swan! gently gliding on the silvery lake
With plume unruffled, and elated crest,
Majestic bird! O may I once partake
Thy silent pleasure and unenvied rest.

Like Byron, Landor came to regret the publication of his first book; and shortly afterwards, he ordered its suppression. As he wrote later:

Before I was twenty years of age I had imprudently sent into the world a volume of which I was soon ashamed. It everywhere met with as much commendation as was proper, and generally more. For, though the structure was feeble, the lines were

fluent; the rhymes showed habitual ease, and the personifications fashionable taste . . . I was then in raptures with what I now despise. I am far from the expectation or the hope that these deciduous shoots will be supported by the ivy of my maturer years.

Poetry by the Author of Gebir was published by F. and C. Rivington, London 1802. It was put into type in 1800, then extending to 111 pages. Landor decided to cancel the last 47 pages which included a "Postscript to Gebir," his acid reply to a criticism which had appeared in *The Monthly Review* in 1800. The foot of page 64 of the Library's copy bears the line "Sharpe, Printer, High-Street, Warwick" in an uneven type, showing that it was added by a hand-stamp, after the removal of the rejected pages. This indicates that the copy is of the first issue, as the later ones do not have the line. The volume, in blue-grey wrappers and uncut, was once owned by Thomas J. Wise — yet it is genuine.

The volume contains three long narrative poems in blank verse and several shorter ones in English and Latin. The first, "Chrysaor," is an heroic epic, showing the influence of *Paradise Lost*. Taken from myths of ancient Iberia, the story concerns the overthrow of a defiant Titan by Jupiter. It has movement and power. The next two, "From the Phocaeans" and "Protis's Narrative," are parts of an epic about the adventures of the Ionian people who, driven from their country, took refuge in Spain and eventually settled in Gaul. They are confused and lack unity, but there are many vigorous passages.

Landor's writings are out of the current of his age, showing little of the passion and imagination that fired Shelley and Byron, or the humanitarianism that characterized Wordsworth. They are akin rather to the eighteenth century, having objectivity and poise, as well as a technical skill acquired by intensive study of classic authors.

His works were never popular. DeQuincey, commenting on this fact, ironically asked, "But not might a man build a reputation on the basis of *not* being read?" Landor is read, however, by a discriminating group who find flashes of genius even in his dull places. In a letter to his friend John Forster, the poet himself accurately foretold his literary status: "I shall have as many readers as I desire to have in other times than ours. I shall dine late: but the dining-room will be well-lighted, the guests few and select . . ."

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